BEHAVIOR SCIENCE MONOGRAPHS



AN ATOLL CULTURE

Ethnography of Ifaluk in the Central Carolines

Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology 1947-1949

FINAL REPORT of E G Burrows & M E Spiro

Pacific Science Board
National Research Council
N7-onr-291: T O IV & Viking Fund Inc.

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Published by
Human Relations Area Files

COORDINATED INVESTIGATION OF MICRONESIAN ANTHROPOLOGY

operates with financial assistance from Contract N7-onr-291, Task Order IV between

THE OFFICE OF NAVAL RESEARCH

and

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

CIMA field work was conducted in Guam and in islands of the Trust Territory in Micronesia (1947-49) with transportation and facilities contributed by the Navy Department. Studies in anthropology as well as human and economic geography were carried out in cooperation with universities, museums, and research institutions under this project of the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, aided by financial assistance from the Viking Fund and other private sources.

CIMA Report No.s. 16 and 18.



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EDWIN G. BURROWS and MELFORD E. SPIRO

Published by
Human Relations Area Files
NEW HAVEN

1953

Published by
Human Relations Area Files, Incorporated
With the assistance of a grant from the
Wenner-Gren Foundation for
Anthropological Research, Incorporated

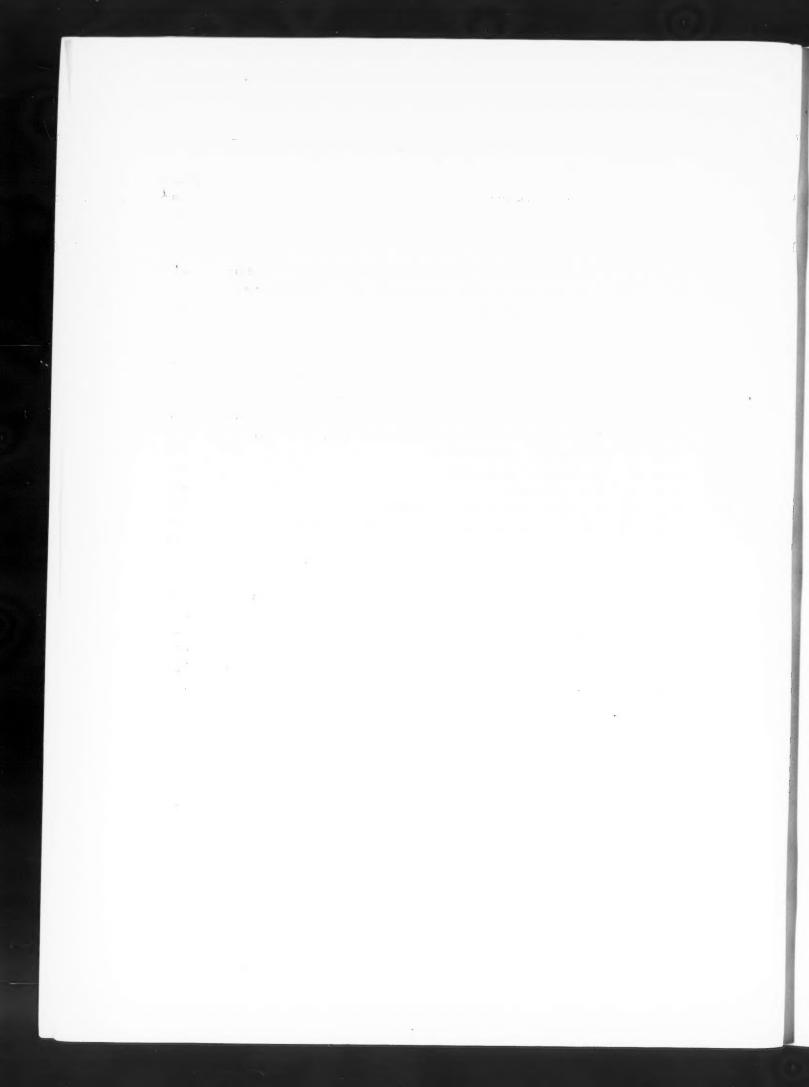
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WOMEN AND CHILDREN



Mother's milk and coconut toddy; the bottles are presumably Japanese. The women wear the usual home-woven wrapped skirt, and belt of strung beads --black made from tortoise-shell, white from a large sea-shell.



Though married and a mother, this girl of about eighteen still wears the little girls' costume of dried fern leaves, instead of the woven wrapped skirt.



Peek-a-boo! (How nearly universal is this way to express a shy friendliness?) Avoiding the bare ground of coral gravel, child sits on a carrying-pole.



RITES OF PASSAGE

Taurang; celebrating a girl's first menstruation. (See pages 288-90)

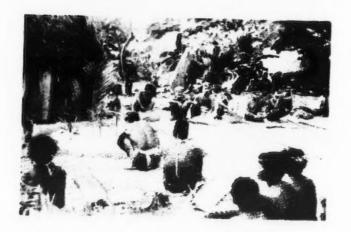


Wailing for the dead; the dead man's mother, who has been trying to scratch her face, is restrained by the women sitting near her. (Page 310.)

INVOCATION OF THE HIGH GODS



First part of invocation chant, sung while shaking a fringe of dry coconut leaf about the circle of clean sand in which rods are stuck for Aluelap, Lugweilang, Wolfat, and Tilitr.

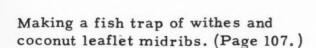


Arogeligar offers a wreath and prays. The five chiefs are seated in the background, right.

DAILY WORK



Hauling on a line to swing the new corner-post of a canoe-house into vertical position, when it will slide into the hole dug for it. (Pages 65-7.)







Sighting along the edge of a log being hewn into shape for the underbody of a new canoe. (Pages 75-6.)

INTRODUCTION

Ifaluk is an atoll in the Caroline Islands at 7°15' north latitude and 147° east longitude. It lies nearly midway between Yap, 400 miles to the west-northwest, and Truk, nearly due east. Guam, in the Marianas, administrative center for the whole Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, is about 350 miles north of Ifaluk (Fig. 1).

The ocean for 100 miles around is dotted with other atolls and reefs, making up what has sometimes been called the Woleai district, though never administered as a separate district by the successive foreign powers who have ruled this part of the Pacific. The people of Ulithi call this whole region "Woleai", extending the name of the most populous atoll to the group. Eight of these atolls are inhabited: Woleai, Ifaluk, Faraulep, Lamotrek, Elato, Satawal, Eaurupik, and Sorol. Olimarao was formerly inhabited, and some of the others may have been.

The unity suggested by a common name and geographic contiguity seems to be reflected in the native cultures of the islands. So far as we can learn, this region constitutes a cultural unit which differs unmistakably, though slightly, even from Fais and Ulithi to the northwest. The differences are too slight to justify use of the term "culture area", according to the scale ordinarily connoted by that term. "Sub-area" would be more appropriate.

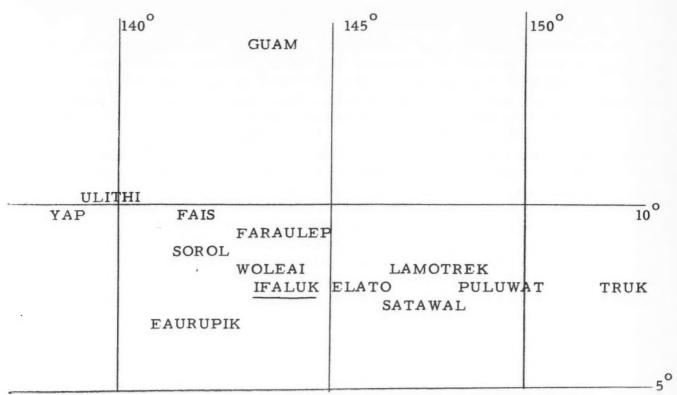


Figure 1. Location of Ifaluk among surrounding islands.

A hasty test of these similarities was possible during brief stops at several of the islands on the return trip from Ifaluk. Dialect, clan names, and the more obvious features of material culture seemed to be the same until we came to Satawal, the eastermost island visited. Here differences began to appear. For instance, the 'tr' of Ifaluk was replaced, at least in some words, by 'ch'; and several clan names were different. Sorol, westernmost of the atolls generally included in the sub-area, was not visited. It seems safe to say that the following account of the native culture of Ifaluk will hold true, in a general way, for the other atolls. But the similarity does not extend to all details. Sea-burial, for example, seems to be exclusively an Ifaluk custom. The people of Faraulep are said to use for food a small land-shell not eaten on Ifaluk. And so on.

For all practical purposes, the main differences within the region probably reflect difference in contact with foreigners. Ifaluk was chosen for study because it has had a minimum of outside influence. Woleai represents the maximum. A missionary worked there in the 19th Century. The Japanese built an air-strip there during World War II. The Americans bombed the air-strip, and after the close of the war, a U.S. Coast Guard detachment was stationed there to maintain a LORAN station. A useful supplement to the Ifaluk material would be a study of change on Woleai due to this contact.

The report that follows is based mainly on six months of residence on Ifaluk, from July, 1947, to February, 1948. This field work was part of the project called CIMA (Co-ordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology), sponsored by the National Research Council at the request of the U.S. Navy.

Two anthropologists, joint authors of the following ethnography, were assigned to Ifaluk. Edwin G. Burrows, from the University of Connecticut, was authorized to carry out two projects for which he had applied: general ethnography and a study of the native arts. The University of Connecticut was a co-sponsor of these projects, allowing him a year's leave of absence and paying half of his salary. Melford E. Spiro, then a graduate student at Northwestern University, now on the faculty of the University of Connecticut, was assigned to investigate the development of personality in this culture, with particular emphasis on individual roles in it.

A division of labor between the two was partly obvious from the beginning, partly improvised as the work went along. Such matters as ethnobotany and technology, as well as the native arts, were left to Burrows. Study of the individual life cycle, sexual life, and the more intimate workings of kinship were Spiro's particular domain. Inevitably, there was a considerable area of overlap, especially in social structure, government, and religion.

The division of labor followed in the field has governed that in this

publication. Each hopes to publish separately on his special project--Burrows on native arts, Spiro on personality formation.

The work was made possible by the financial support provided, through the Pacific Science Survey of the National Research Council, by a number of sponsors, of which the U.S. Navy was the largest contributor. The Navy also supplied transportation and a large part of the supplies and equipment used in the field. Friendly assistance from nearly all the Navy officers met along the way was not only most pleasant, but substantially helpful. That of Captain (then Commander) Duke is particularly memorable. Expert help from specialists in various sciences is acknowledged in the text.

In general, the first part of the report--Introduction, Population, Habitat, Technology, Coresidence and Kinship, Economics, and Government--was written by Burrows. The last part--Religion, and the long section on Life Cycle--was written by Spiro. Each contributed a number of details to the parts written by the other. More detailed explanation of who did what does not seem worthwhile.

Special acknowledgment is due the hospitality and collaboration of the native people. They not only submitted patiently to our most impertinent inquiries, but gladly offered whatever help we asked for, or whatever occurred to them. The chiefs were particularly helpful, assembling to give us information whenever we asked for it and assigning to us as helpers young Talimeira, who picked up English so fast that before we left he could be used as an interpreter in some matters, and Totogoeiti ('Tom'), our interpreter. An unforgetable example of chiefly conduct was given by Paliuilimar, the aged chief who died during our stay on the island. One of us called on him when he was far gone, and could only speak faintly. When he saw his visitor, he raised his head and asked, "Have you plenty of young coconuts to drink?"

Most helpful of all was Totogoeiti, who will be called hereafter by his English name, Tom. This he acquired in the days of his youth, when he worked on foreign ships from Honolulu to Singapore. During that period he spent six years in Manila, where he acquired a command of English which, once some of its peculiarities were mastered, was surprisingly adequate. He was at our beck and call the whole time. If he sometimes became impatient at our stupidity or persistence, he controlled himself admirably. He dictated all the incantations and other native lore of navigation which he, as ranking navigator, knew better than anyone else. Much of this was private property, which he would only teach to another native in return for valuable presents. Toward the end, when our supplies were running short, he twice climbed coconut trees at night—a task usually left to younger men—and snared terns for our breakfast. So far as we knew, these were the only terns snared during our stay, as the birds were not abundant enough at the time to justify this arduous and risky job.

We cannot repay this hospitality. The most we can hope for, in this monograph and the more specialized ones to follow, is to do as well by the people of Ifaluk, in the matter of observing and recording their way of life, as they did by us in kindness.

POPULATION

The population of Ifaluk in 1947-48 was about 250. While we were there it was actually a few less than that most of the time, because of almost continual visiting on Woleai, and the absence of two young men in Yap, one training with the medical officer there, the other studying to be a school-teacher. The ship that took us away brought these two back to the island.

Of the 250, 108 were male, 142 female. The excess of 34 women and girls amounts to 13.6%. Reasons for it are not clear. More travelling among the men, and some marrying and settling on other islands may have something to do with it. But there were also some husbands from other islands on Ifaluk. Loss of a canoe at sea would nearly always cost the island more men than women, but canoes are not lost often enough to account for all the disparity between sexes.

The following early figures on the population are presented by Damm:

| 1797 | (Wilson) about | 200 |
|---------|----------------------|-----|
| 1828 | (Lütke) about | 150 |
| 1852 | (Cheyne) about | 140 |
| 1903-04 | (Sievers) | 281 |
| 1909 | (Hamburg Expedition) | 208 |
| 1914 | (Finsch) about | 300 |
| 1930 | Pacific Is. Pilot | 305 |

The first three are estimates, useless for indicating change in the course of time. The last four seem more trustworthy. That of the Hamburg Expedition is much smaller than the rest. This may be a result of the typhoon of 1907. Not many lives were lost in that disaster, but, judging by native accounts of all such occasions, the destruction of food-bearing plants probably led to emigration on a considerable scale. By 1914 most of the refugees may have returned.

One more figure, for 1937, is available from a Japanese source (Civ. p. 33). The total given in 388. It is of dubious value, to say the least. It is the sum of figures for three islands: Flalap (76), Ifaluk (269), and Pik (54). Now Flalap (Falālap) is indeed the name of one of the inhabited islands. Ifaluk might be used for the other island, Falārik, though the natives use it only for the whole atoll, and the figure given is large for Falārik. But there is no such island as Pik. The third island on Ifaluk is Ellā, and it has been uninhabited as far back as native tradition goes, except that during the American trusteeship, the atoll's one leper has been quarantined there. Moreover, the totals attributed to the three islands add up to 399, instead of the 388 given as the total. There is an islet called Pik on the nearby atoll of Faraulep. Subtracting the 54 attributed to Pik would give a total of 345 for the two inhabited islands of Ifaluk. But the figures are in such a muddle that they can lead to nothing but guesswork.

Comparing the last four figures in Damm's list with the 250 of 1947-48 suggests a decrease in population during the 20th Century. That suggestion, for what it is worth, supports the frequent assertion of natives that the population was much larger formerly than it is now. There are several other indications of depopulation: the number of old house sites now unoccupied; the constitution of some of the present households; the ratio of children to married couples in the present population. For lack of better evidence, these must be considered in some detail.

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As for the abandoned house sites, there is, of course, no assurance that all of them were ever occupied at one time. But on the island of Falārik there are two clusters of them long enough to show on the map (Fig. 22). One is between Rauau and Falārik districts. This now uninhabited stretch of road is lined with old house sites. The other is at the north end of the island, beyond what is now the last house. Two canoe-houses are still maintained there, though there are now no dwellings near; and the site of an old men's house (bachelors' dormitory and meeting-house) is pointed out near the northernmost canoe-house, far from any present dwelling. It seems unlikely that such considerable areas would have been left vacant just by casual moving about.

The constitution of some households which differ from the usual pattern also suggests a dwindling population. The household called Uaragin includes two married couples. Both are examples of patrilocal residence; that is, the wife had come to live at the husband's home. This is contrary to local custom. Of the members of this household, only one belongs to the lineage which traditionally owns the site. This is the husband in the elder generation. If he had gone to live at his wife's home, as is customary, the site would have been abandoned. His son, the husband in the younger generation, has also deviated from custom by bringing his wife home instead of going to live with her people. The household called Foraik is another example. The whole lineage that formerly lived there had died out. The present occupants moved in from Welipeien, the site next door. Finally, the only household on the island which has been newly established in the present generation is at Uluas. It consists of a single family, a married couple and their daughter. They went there to reoccupy an abandoned site which belongs to the husband's clan. All these deviations from custom, then, are attributed to a wish to keep occupied, or to reoccupy, sites which by the customary pattern of residence would have been abandoned.

A third sign of depopulation is the fact that, although there are 60 married couples in the present population, there are only 81 children less than 20 years old. The latter figure, an estimate worked out by Spiro from relative ages, includes orphans and children of widows as well as children of the married couples. If the fertile part of the population was reproducing itself, the number of children would be at least 120.

Although none of these indications, taken by itself, is convincing, they add up to a probability that Ifaluk has been sharing in the general depopulation of the Yap district. Reasons for this are by no means certain. Undoubtedly foreign contact, even in this remotest island of Micronesia, has had something

to do with it, by means of introduced diseases if nothing else. Poor sanitation undoubtedly aggravates the damage done by disease. Inadequate diet, especially a shortage of Vitamin E, may play a part by reducing fertility. Disapproval of sexual intercourse between parents until the last baby can walk may cut down the birth rate. Yet if extra-marital intercourse is as prevalent as gossip makes it out to be, it should make up for that. Infant mortality is presumably high, though statistics are lacking to prove it.

Probably study of one island can contribute only a little toward a solution of this problem. Depopulation has been widespread in the Pacific. One encouraging feature is that in many islands where foreign influence has been greater than in Ifaluk, the population, after declining for a time, began to hold its own and then to increase. (Bibl. No. 17). Another is the likelihood that

American medical care will reduce the death rate.

Legends of Settlement

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A native legend attributes first settlement of Ifaluk to immigration from Yap. To be sure, another story—myth rather than legend—makes the people autochthonous. What little ethnological comparison has been possible in preparation of this report throws doubt on the historical accuracy of the legend deriving them from Yap, which may express no more than the relatively recent political and religious domination of that island. Whatever the proportion of literal truth in it, the legend follows, as dictated to me by one of the five chiefs, in conference with the others. Tom acted as interpreter, In rewording his account, I have tried to keep as close to it as possible without too much violence to English idiom.

First Settlement of Ifaluk

Long, long ago, a chief of Garpar (Gatschapar) village, in Gagil district, Yap, ordered some of his people to go out and colonize the outer islands to the east. He himself remained in Yap.

In charge of the expedition was a man named Tatar, who was accompanied by his sister, Iau. They went first to Mogmog on Ulithi; then to Wetegau (Utagal?) in Woleai, then to Ifaluk and the other islands --Faraulep, Elato, Lamotrek, Satawal, and so on to Puluwat and Truk and "all Caroline place." The chain of command, ever since, is from Yap to Mogmog, from Mogmog to Wetegau, Wetegau to Ifaluk, from Ifaluk to the other islands.

On Ifaluk Tatar left one man and one woman from each of the eight clans. The two from each clan were brother and sister. Their names were:

From Kovalu clan: Maraige and his sister Lemaregara.

From Sauvelarlk clan: Alovar and his sister Eilapikel.

From Mangaulevar clan: Trigabwa and his sister Ungusaren, sometimes known as Litamata.

From Rapevelu clan: Uelisogo and his sister Iau.

From Sauwel clan: Temou and his sister Narom.

From Bwel clan: Miatomwar and his sister Ilametoi.

From Kailangailuk clan: Uetiu and his sister Lemangeverau.

From Kailangaluelea clan: Marogerag and his sister Ilimeng.

The descendants of these women, who married the men from other clans, make up the membership of the clans today.

The first men's house was built at Iramai, in the Ievang district of Falalap. No building stands there now, but the site is still remembered. It was used by Tatar, Alovar, and the other early settlers. Another early chief of Kovalū clan was Filitamol. Another early chief of Sauvelarlk clan was Maur. In dictating this story, it was said that Maur used the men's house at Iramai. But in the

story of the war with Woleai, Maur is associated with the men's house Katelu on Falarlk.

This was the story of first settlement as dictated by the chiefs (another account of the settlement of Ifaluk and the creation myth is given under "Religion" on p. 209). Bits of information from various other sources support the story in some details, differ in others. Tom himself made one change in the course of passing the story on to me; a very slight one, yet not insignificant. In his first version he named Ifaluk before Woleai. This was later changed to conform to the order given as the chain of command. This seems to reflect an unresolved inconsistency about the relative rank of the two atolls. In the foregoing story, Woleai outranks Ifaluk. In the account of the war with Woleai, to be given shortly, Ifaluk outranks Woleai. Questioned about this, Tom said that the account of the war, giving Ifaluk precedence over Woleai, is true; but that Wetegau in Woleai precedes Ifaluk in the matter of relaying messages from the high chiefs in Yap. This could reconcile the two stories; yet it was my impression that in Tom's mind they remained unreconciled.

In one detail the story may seem self-contradictory. Iau is named both as sister of Tatar and as sister of Uelisogo. Asked about this, Tom said there were two women named Iau. Another possibility is that Tatar and Uelisogo were brothers. The name Ilimang or Ilimeng also occurs twice; once as the founder of the clan Kailangaluelea, once as the wife Maur took on Woleai.

Among the details in which other accounts vary are the names of the first settlers. In a brief account received from Fonachar in Yap, before we went to Ifaluk, the name of the leader of the colonizing party was recorded as Liomerer. The only name at all like this in the story collected on Ifaluk is Lemaregara (final 'a' silent), the woman of Kovalu clan. Sarfert names as the first settler Modj (recorded by me as Maur) said to have come on a raft with his wife Filitamol. My informants insisted that Maur was a later chief of Sauvelarlk clan, and Filitamol a later chief of Kovalu clan. Sarfert has Ilamai as the name of the house where Modj and Filitamol first lived, while my informants used it as the name of the site of the first men's house.

The clans represented by the colonizers, as told to me, are the same as those found on Ifaluk during our stay. They differ widely from Sarfert's list of clans. I would be inclined to reject Sarfert's list, wherever it differs from mine, except for one thing; that my informants admitted the former existence on Ifaluk of one of the clans he named--Saupuluwat. The name suggests that this clan came from Puluwat rather than Yap. Sarfert also mentions later arrivals from Woleai and Faraulep; such a voyage from Puluwat might account for the presence of this clan. However, as already said in the discussion of social structure, several other clan names listed by Sarfert were, according to my informants, never represented on Ifaluk.

Another kind of early arrival mentioned by Sarfert was 'very large devils in human form, so thorny that big fish were speared on their bodies. They swam to the island, but when they did not find any food, they went peacefully

away again. Though no such episode was told to me, I see no reason to question the existence of such a tradition, at least at the time of Sarfert's visit.

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Lieutenant Carrol identified the Kovalū clan of Ifaluk with one of two branches of the Yap clan called Fanif. According to a legend he collected on Yap, the two branches of this clan are descended from two sisters. One of them went overland from some unnamed starting point to Tomil district. The other was blown out to sea in a canoe. She came ashore at Onean in Gagil district, where her descendants constitute the Niarou branch of the clan, the one that is related to Ifaluk's Kovalū. Similarly, Lieut. Carrol equated the Sauvelārlk clan of Ifaluk with the Ueloy clan of Yap. As for the six lower ranking clans of Ifaluk, he had heard nothing about them on Yap, and inferred that, even if they originated on Yap, they must have reached Ifaluk indirectly, after a sojourn somewhere else.

The traditional subordination to this line of chiefs in Yap has been maintained by fairly regular voyages both ways. Whether such voyages were made every year I could not make sure. Fonachar of Yap said that when the people of Ifaluk came to Gatschapar, they would bring as tribute cloths, matsails, mats, sennit rope, and coconut 'candy'. I could not make out what was meant by coconut candy. Hearing the story before we went to Ifaluk, I supposed I would find out there. But nothing on Ifaluk nowadays could very well be called coconut candy.

Fonachar said that the people of Yap would contribute to their visitors from the atolls turmeric, canoes made of the better wood available on high islands, mats, betel nuts, and food. Though thought of as a matter of tribute one way and largesse the other, these mutual gifts amounted to an economic exchange. The atoll men would sometimes remain on Yap for considerable periods, and work for their overlord. One indication that the people of Ifaluk did not always rejoice in this subordination is a bit of sarcasm in an Ifaluk song about a typhoon:

The people of Yap will be sorry to hear of this; There will be nothing left for them to take.

Foreign vessels, as they came to replace native canoes for such long voyages as that between Ifaluk and Yap, continued to foster the old relationship by carrying passengers both ways. Maintenance of the traditional chain of command has been a policy of the U.S. Naval government, though some officers disapprove of it. In 1947-48 the American ships, on their tours of these "outer islands" took along the Yap chiefs who were regarded as overlords of the atolls. The highest-ranking of them, Fithingmau, who was old and partly paralyzed, was represented by his heir-apparent. He claims no special jurisdiction over Ifaluk. Foneg of Gatschapar village (Gagil district, Yap) was considered the overlord of Ifaluk. On these trips he would always meet with the chiefs, receive gifts, particularly of cloths, and pray. Lieut. Carroll said that the prayers were for good crops, an abundance of fish, and

fair weather. Lieut. Carroll considered the ascendancy of the Yap chiefs mainly a religious matter. Some other Naval government officials, who disapproved of encouraging this old relationship, said that the Yap chiefs maintained their ascendancy mainly by threats of inflicting disaster through their supernatural power. During our stay, the Yap people brought to those of the atolls many baskets of food, particularly boi nuts (Tahitian chestnut), bananas, watermelons and pineapples.

Return gifts were meager: hospitality-but nothing lavish--while the visiting chiefs were ashore; a cloth or two on each trip; perhaps other bits of handicraft, young coconuts to drink. Some other atolls contributed a canoe or two. The people of Ifaluk seemed to accept their subordination. I heard no grumbling about it. No more did I see any signs of enthusiasm.

Conquest of Nearby Islands

In contrast to the acknowledged subordination to Yap is a series of legends that tell of conquest of the atolls nearest to Ifaluk, extermination of the early inhabitants, and repopulation by colonists from Ifaluk. These make Ifaluk the mother country of all these atolls, as far as their present population is concerned. These legends follow, as told by the five chiefs, with Tom for interpreter.

Woleai

Maur, an ancient chief of Sauvelarlk clan on Ifaluk, went to Woleai, took there a wife named Ilimeng, and had by her a son, Legagilewau. Some of the men of Woleai, jealous because of his winning the woman, attacked him, beat him about the head and body, and left him for dead.

In the night the woman Ilimeng went out of the house to urinate. She did not see the fallen body of Maur, and urinated on him. The urine so stung his wounds that he returned to consciousness.

Maur tied up his wounded head with a bit of rope. At daybreak he swam out on a piece of driftwood, spent the day at sea, and came in again at night. He slept in his house, and left again early in the morning. He took a piece of coconut leaf and tied it about the wrist of his son, Legagilewau.

Finally Maur went out through the pass on his bit of driftwood. One man saw him and cried out "Maur is still alive!" But the Woleai people laughed. "No, Maur is dead!" There was much talk about sending a canoe out to see, but they did not find him.

Maur swam on his driftwood all the way to Ifaluk, and landed on the little uninhabited island of Ellā. A canoe went by and he hailed it. He told the boatman that he was Maur, and that the people of Woleai had tried to kill him.

The man went to the men's house, Katelu, and spread the news. Another canoe was sent to Ella to bring Maur to Katelu. He summoned all the people.

When all the men of Ifaluk were gathered together before him, he told them how the Woleai people had fallen upon him and left him for dead. "I will not waste words," he said. "I will take off my loin cloth, and if my penis points to Woleai, that will be a sign to you to go there and kill all the people."

He took off his loin cloth, and his penis pointed to Woleai. "Go kill all the people," he shouted, "men, women, and children. Only spare the woman Ilimeng, and the boy who has a strip of coconut leaf tied around his wrist."

The men of Ifaluk went to work and made spears (kowai), many spears for each man. They went to Woleai in many canoes—two hundred, three hundred. In Woleai they went first to Falalap, then to Mariong, then to Traulap, then to Paleau, then to Raur. Everywhere they attacked the Woleai people and speared them—women, children, and all. But they spared the woman Ilimeng and the boy Legagilewau, who had the strip of coconut leaf tied about his wrist.

Next the Ifaluk warriors went to Wetegau. All the people fled and swam over to Falalus. Twice the Ifaluk men tried to make a landing there, but twice they were turned back by the defenders.

Then the Ifaluk people took a log, set up a coconut leaf on it like a sail, and shoved it out to sea from Wetegau. The Woleai people thought it was an Ifaluk canoe setting out for home, and decided that all the Ifaluk people had gone back.

Two Woleai canoes came back to Wetegau. The Ifaluk men had hidden their canoes in the bush and covered them with leaves.

A Woleai man climbed a breadfruit tree, plucked a fruit, and said, "The Ifaluk men are very strong, but now they are gone. We won't be bothered with them any more."

At this the Ifaluk men came out of hiding, with a "What's that you say? We'll see about that!" The Woleai men fled into the water, but were speared there.

The Ifaluk men caught the Woleai men during a bonito drive, attacked and killed them. Then they went on to Falalus and killed the women and children, too.

The canoes returned to Ifaluk, leaving only Ilimeng and her boy alive on Wolcai. They had a great feast at home, and then assembled again at Katelū.

Maur told them it would be too bad to have no people on Woleai. Then he sent people from Ifaluk to settle in Woleai:

One man and his sister from the clan Kovalū.

One man and his sister from the clan Sauvelarlk.

One man and his sister from the clan Mangaulevar.

One man and his sister from the clan Rapevelu.

One man and his sister from the clan Sauwel.

One man and his sister from the clan Bwel.

One man and his sister from the clan Kailangailuk.

One man and his sister from the clan Kailangaluelea.

Each of the men became a chief in Woleai. Little boys went too, with the women, their mothers. These people, with Maur's wife and son, repopulated Woleai.

So now when Ifaluk men go to Woleai, there is no more fighting. It is as if the two islands were all one place. People from either island visit the other, do not have to ask for food, but live as if they were at home.

This version itself includes two accounts of how the Woleai men were killed, told one after the other with no attempt to reconcile them; one about an ambush on land, the other about a surprise attack during a bonito drive. The two could be reconciled, of course, by attributing one of them to one islet on Woleai, the other to another. But the incident of a surprise attack while the men were fishing appears also in two versions of the legend about Faraulep. One of them, told to me on Ifaluk, will be given shortly (p.16-17). The other was told on Faraulep to Hambruch, during the German expedition. The suggestion is that this incident may have been transferred from the legend about Faraulep to that about Woleai.

A version of this legend recorded by Sarfert differs in several details from the one just given. The beginning is similar, except that the incident of the woman urinating on his unconscious body is not included. Nor are the names of the woman and the son she bore to Maur, there written as 'Modj'.

After the attack on him, Maur is said to have returned to Ifaluk in his canoe instead of by swimming with a piece of driftwood. But in another of Sarfert's stories, which attributes to 'Modj' the first settlement of Ifaluk, he is said to have come there with his wife on a raft.

The incident of Maur's penis pointing toward Woleai does not occur in Sarfert's version.

The order of islets on Woleai visited by the Ifaluk expedition is the same in Sarfert's version and in mine, except that his list omits two of those mentioned in the one told to me:

| 'Hauptinsel' Falalap Woleai (?) Mariong Mariaon Traulap Tagaulap Bäliau Paleau Paliau Raur Raur Raur | German Version, 1909 | CIMA Version, 1947 | Name on H.O. Chart |
|--|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Traulap Tagaulap Bäliau Paleau Paliau | 'Hauptinsel' | Falalap | Woleai (?) |
| Bäliau Paleau Paliau | | Mariong | Mariaon |
| | | Traulap | Tagaulap |
| Raur Raur Raur | Bäliau | Paleau | Paliau |
| | Raur | Raūr | Raur |

Sarfert's version adds one detail not told to me: that the people of Ifaluk, in moving from islet to islet on Woleai, first ate their unwilling hosts out of house and home, and did not close in for the kill until they had them weakened by starvation.

A final detail omitted in Sarfert's version is the list of clans (all of those now on Ifaluk) represented in the later expedition that repopulated Woleai.

A third version was collected by Hambruch on Faraulep. It differs particularly in the beginning. The king of Ifaluk, Moist, visits Woleai and there repeatedly rapes a woman while her husband is out fishing. This makes him the first agressor, and justifies the attack on him. He is beaten and left for dead. Toward morning he is revived, by rain. He takes a piece of timber from the bush and with it swims to Ifaluk. The summons to war, with the incident of the penis pointing toward Woleai, agree with the version told to me. The ending follows, in my translation:

Then the people made many spears, sailed to Woleai in countless canoes, and slew everyone, even the young girls.

No mention is made of a son born to the Woleai woman. The list of islands, that of clans, and various other details, are omitted.

Lamotrek

A similar legend about Lamotrek was dictated by the chiefs and translated by Tom. Here I have retained a few bits of his peculiar English.

Long, long ago, the people of Lamotrek used to kill the Ifaluk people whenever a canoe from Ifaluk put in there. One Ifaluk canoe that went there had aboard, besides the crew of Ifaluk men, one Tunga, a being in the form of a man but not human. The Lamotrek people killed all the Ifaluk men but did not fight with Tunga.

In Ifaluk, when the canoe did not return from Lamotrek, the people wondered what had become of it. Maur, their chief, summoned all the people to the men's house, Katelu. He ordered a canoe to be fitted out to go look for the lost vessel.

"Who among us shall go?" asked the Ifaluk men.

Maur said: "Suppose one man 'e savvy captain, all right, go."
So a man named Wëtiei, a very savvy captain, built him a canoe,
got together a crew, and sailed to Lamotrek.

"Where is that canoe from Ifaluk that sailed here?"

The Lamotrek people said, "Canoe from Ifaluk no stop here. He go to Truk." That was a lie.

Wetiei went on to Truk to look for the Ifaluk canoe. The Lamotrek people, in an attempt to cover up their lie, sent <u>Tunga</u> on to Truk in a Lamotrek canoe. When the Ifaluk canoe got to Truk, the Lamotrek

canoe was lying offshore but had left some of its men on Truk.

The Ifaluk canoe beached at Truk, and the men came ashore and asked "What about that Ifaluk canoe that came here?" The Lamotrek men said, "We don't know anything about it." That was a lie.

One of the Ifaluk men saw a Lamotrek man take some food and put out to sea with it. The Lamotrek men had left Tunga as a captive aboard their canoe. So the Ifaluk man said he was going to bathe in the sea. Once in, he swam out to the Lamotrek canoe and called out, "Any Ifaluk men aboard?"

Tunga called back, "Yes! Me!"

So the Ifaluk man swam up close, and said, "Don't say anything to the others. Tomorrow night our Ifaluk canoe will come over close to this one. You dive overboard and swim over to us."

This was done next night as planned, so Tunga was once more aboard an Ifaluk canoe.

They asked him what had become of the men from the canoe that took him from Ifaluk to Lamotrek. He told them the truth, that the Lamotrek people had killed them all.

So Wëtiei's canoe went back to Ifaluk. There Tunga told Maur his story. So Maur knew that the Lamotrek people had killed his men in the first canoe.

Maur called all the people together at the men's house, Katelu. He told them to make ready, for they were going to make war on Lamotrek. So the Ifaluk men went to work and fashioned spears-one man 20, another man 30, another man 40--and put them in canoes. Then they set sail for Lamotrek.

They came first to Elato, but the Elato people, when they saw the Ifaluk canoe coming, were afraid, got into their canoes, and fled to Lamotrek. So when the Ifaluk canoe came ashore, there was nobody there. They stopped in Elato three days. ("Want to chow.") Then on to Lamotrek.

At Lamotrek one big island is inhabited, two small ones uninhabited. The Ifaluk invaders landed on the two small islands. One day they attempted a landing on the main island, but were repulsed. Twice they tried, and twice they failed. The Lamotrek people were too strong.

A great warrior of Ifaluk, named Mailias, had been visiting on Woleai at the time the Ifaluk fleet set out for Lamotrek. He came back to find all the Ifaluk canoes gone. "Where are all the men?" he asked.

He was told they had gone to avenge the death of the Ifaluk canoemen at Lamotrek. So he got in his canoe and followed them Arrived at Lamotrek, he asked for a report on the situation. He was told how things stood--that two landings had been attempted, but both had failed.

"Leave it to me," said Mailias. He told the men to gather bundles of dried banana leaf and put them in the canoes. They filled their canoes with leaves, then, in mid-afternoon, shoved off once more to assault the main island. It was mid-afternoon, and the wind was at their backs, from the west.

The Ifaluk forces divided into two parties. One of them made the same kind of frontal attack as before. But when they came near shore, they set fire to their bundles of leaves. A great cloud of smoke arose. The wind carried it ashore, and blinded the Lamotrek warriors.

Under cover of this attack, the other party from Ifaluk went around to the other side of the island, and landed there.

The Lamotrek men fought bravely against the party that had landed behind a smoke screen. But they were at such a disadvantage, with the smoke in their eyes, that they were driven back, and at last fled into the bush. Here the other Ifaluk party was lying in wait. They fell upon the demoralized defenders and killed every last one of them; then went on into the houses, killing, killing, until not a man, woman or child was left alive in Lamotrek.

So the fleet returned to Ifaluk, and repeated to Maur that Lamotrek had been depopulated, and the slaughter of the Ifaluk canoemen avenged.

First the returning warriors were welcomed with a big feast. Then Maur assembled them at the men's house, Katelū. He told them it would not be good for Lamotrek to remain without people. He ordered each clan to send one man and his sister. All these could take their families along if they cared to.

So Lamotrek was laid waste and then repopulated from Ifaluk. Ever since, it has been as if Lamotrek and Ifaluk were all one place. In Ifaluk, Lamotrek people are just the same as Ifaluk people. In Lamotrek, Ifaluk people are given food without having to ask for it. They all belong to the same clans.

So that is the story of how "Ifaluk man, he kill Lamotrek man. Ifaluk more high."

A short song or remnant of a song commemorates this battle. For all its brevity, it is noteworthy as the only one among the 228 song texts collected which deals with legendary (as distinguished from mythical) material; and the only one which deals with war. Although this may be accidental, it seems to suggest the importance of this particular legend. The chiefs dictated the text, and Tom translated it. This translation, edited into smoother English, follows:

Coming up from behind on the fugitives As they fled from the lagoon shore, We will close in from both sides At the Pu-el-Ifal \overline{u} .

Pu-el-Ifalu is said to be the name of a place in the interior of Lamotrek, where the two parties of Ifaluk men closed in on the defenders of Lamotrek and

finished them off. (It did not occur to me at the time to ask whether Pu-el-Ifalū would be in ordinary language Bwel Ifaluk, Ifaluk taro swamp.)

The German monograph on Lamotrek contains no legend like this-indeed, no legends at all, though it has several myths.

During my few hours on shore at Lamotrek I asked about this story, expecting a denial or variant version. But they confirmed it. Although, lacking an interpreter, I did not manage to check all details, they agreed that Mailias was leader of the invading party, and added that he was of Kovalū clan.

Satawal

As a sequel to the Lamotrek legend, Tom said, "Satawal all same." In those early days, he explained, that island was uninhabited. Some of the Ifaluk people who had settled on Lamotrek went on to Satawal and began the population of that atoll.

As already noted in the discussion of clans, the virtual identity in culture among the other islands named in these legends begins to diminish at Satawal. This was perceptible even in my few hours ashore there. The sound pronounced on Ifaluk as a lingual trill, sometimes attacked by way of a stop like our "t", is replaced on Satawal by a sound identical, or nearly so, with our "ch." Thus Lamotrek becomes "Lamochek", Sauvelārlk, "Sauvelāchlk." Moreover, some of the clan names did not resemble those of Ifaluk clans. The notes I took there were lost in reboarding the Navy government ship, and I cannot recall whether I asked the Satawal people about this story of first settlement. Probably not, as the difference in dialect made it more difficult to talk with them.

Faraulep

Faraulep, too, was repopulated from Ifaluk. In this case, though, according to the Ifaluk legend, it was not necessary for Ifaluk warriors to invade the island and massacre the inhabitants. They had attended to that themselves, and Ifaluk men had only to kill a lone survivor.

There are two inhabited islands at Faraulep, and one uninhabited. At one time, there were no people left on the whole atoll. If asked why that was, a Faraulep man will say that men from another island came fighting, and killed the Faraulep people. That is a lie.

What really happened is this. One night a party from one of the inhabited islands at Faraulep went out to fish with torches. The men from the other island made a surprise attack upon them and killed them. They went back home thinking they had killed all the people of the other island.

But one man remained, a man named Nagelimwara. He had hidden himself under a fishing net, and so escaped. When the invaders had gone, he came out again. There were no more people. So he took a small canoe and went out fishing. He found plenty of fish on top of a coral head that extended up into shallow water.

Then he went back to the island still inhabited, and told the chief he had better send out men to catch the plentiful fish he had found. He would show them the place. So all the men went out with him.

When they got to the place where the coral head stuck up into shallow water, they saw that the fish were indeed plentiful. Nagelimwara told them all to jump overboard to catch them. So everybody went overboard except himself. He had a short stick with him. Every head that showed above the surface he would hit with his stick. Thus he killed all the men from that island, except the chief, who had remained behind.

Then Nagelimwara took some fish, and went ashore. He called to the chief to come get his share. The chief came, and when he had taken some fish, Nagelimwara hit him with his stick and killed him. Then he went on into the houses and killed the women and the boys and the girls.

So it was the Faraulep people themselves who put an end to the population on that island. "All Faraulep men 'e fight."

In the course of time a canoe from Ifaluk visited the island, and found that there were no more people there except the one man. The Ifaluk men killed him. Then they went back to Ifaluk to get some Ifaluk people and put them on Faraulep, and repopulate the island, as they had done with the others. So they sent women and men from every clan. And ever since then, a Faraulep man has been all the same as an Ifaluk man.

After finishing this tale, Tom raised his face and eyes skyward, to indicate an immense lapse of time, and said, "Be - fore, be - fore. Not now."

After a few minutes, he repeated this, adding "Ifaluk man not kill 'im that Faraulep man." There were two canoe-loads of men from Faraulep visiting on Ifaluk at the time. Evidently Tom wanted to forestall any worry on my part about the Ifaluk people killing them, by relegating all such unpleasantness to the remote past.

Warfare, indeed, seems to have gone out of mind to some extent since the German expedition of 1909. Sarfert collected barbed spears and clubs with points or little blades at both ends. We saw nothing of the kind.

Tom need not have troubled to deny in advance a supposed Faraulep version attributing the massacre of the earlier population there to invaders from afar (presumably from Ifaluk). At least Hambruch collected on Faraulep in 1909 a story about depopulation by civil war and repopulation from Ifaluk, in essentials like the one just given, but with a number of additional details. The man whose name I recorded as Nagelimwara (final 'a' silent) is there

called Nargetumar. He lived on 'Pix', evidently the islet called 'Pigue' on our charts (apparently from a French version). I heard it as 'Pik", and the Japanese call it 'Piiku'.

Hambruch's version begins as follows: During a visit on the neighboring islet called (like the whole atoll) Faraulep, Nargetumar insulted the people, then on his return to 'Pix' warned the people there of an impending attack from Faraulep. The men of both islets made spears. Those of Pix were the first to attack, invading Faraulep while the men were out fishing; killing women and children first, then the men-except for a few--as they came ashore from their fishing.

The next incident in Hambruch's Faraulep version is lacking from my Ifaluk one. The survivors on Faraulep are said to have asked a visiting Yap man to help them against Pix. He agreed, and by magic raised a typhoon, which indeed destroyed all but 20 people on Pix, but on Faraulep killed all but one. This one, named Uerlipar, killed the survivors on Faraulep by the ruse of offering them fish, as in the Ifaluk version. Then he went to Woleai, married a woman there, and at last returned to Faraulep. By that time people from Ifaluk had taken over Faraulep, so Uerlipar went back to Pix and stayed there.

Eaurupik

By these three legends, the people of Woleai, Lamotrek, and Faraulep were accounted for as descendants of colonizers from Ifaluk. Of the islands nearest to Ifaluk, there remained only Eaurupik. I asked Tom if there was a legend about that.

"Eaurupik too," he replied. "All same size" (a favorite expression of his for "just the same"). "Ifaluk more high." But no further details were forthcoming.

HABITAT

This section deals with what the people of Ifaluk know about the resources of their island. It seemed possible to find out what they know by watching them and asking questions, without calling on the array of specialists that would have been necessary to describe the island in terms of what we know. Yet expert help proved necessary in order to translate their knowledge into terms intelligible to our science. Besides, it proved possible now and then, with this help, to test the accuracy of their knowledge and find some of its limitations.

To begin with some concepts that form a framework for their knowledge, no general names were found for 'number', 'space', or 'time'. This suggests a boundary to the degree of abstraction which their tools for thinking allow them. Within these limits, they are at home with all three concepts.

Native Measurement

The native system of enumeration is organized decimally. For numbers from one to ten, four sets of terms are used, according to what is being counted. Three of them have also their own interrogative forms. All are variants of one fundamental set of forms. Two add suffixes to the fundamental forms. The other reduces them to monosyllables, mainly by omitting second syllables. The monosyllables are used in counting aloud, as in distributing fish or measuring the length of a rope in fathoms.

| | General | Human Beings and Fish ('Animate') | Trees and Canoes ('Long Objects') | Monosyllables for Counting Aloud |
|-----------|------------------|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| How many? | vitou? | veteman (u? | vetevar? | |
| 1 | seu | seuman | sevar | ot |
| 2 | ruou | rumen | ruovar | ru |
| 3 | selū | selimen | seluvar | en (sometimes 'sel') |
| 4 | väou | vamen | vavar | vang |
| 5 | (limou) nimou | limen | lifar | lim |
| 6 | wolou | wolemen | olovar | ol |
| 7 | vesou | visimen | visivar | vis |
| 8 | walou | walimen | walivar | wal |
| 9 | tiwou | tiwemen | tiuvar | tiw |
| 10 | seg | seik | seik | seg |

From ten on, there is only one set of numerals. Eleven is 'seg ma seu'--

ten and one; twelve 'seg ma ruou', and so on. For multiples of ten the suffix 'eik' is added to the first syllable of the numerals from two to nine:

| 20 | rueik | 60 | oleik |
|----|--------|----|--------|
| 30 | seleik | 70 | vesik |
| 40 | faeik | 80 | walik |
| 50 | nimeik | 90 | tuweik |

The corresponding suffix for hundreds is 'bwugu'. The count by hundreds to a thousand is:

| 100 | sebwugu | 600 | olobwugu (wolobwugu) |
|-----|---------------------------|------|----------------------|
| 200 | rubwugu (once, in a song, | 700 | visibwugu |
| rec | orded as 'lugubwugu') | | |
| 300 | selubwugu | 800 | walibwugu |
| 400 | väbwugu | 900 | tiwbwugu |
| 500 | limoubwugu | 1000 | senne |

From this point the numerals given by Tom disagree with those in a list collected by Sarfert. Sarfert has sangalas for 1,000. For 10,000 Tom gave senne me sangares; Sarfert, sang. Tom said there is no word for 'million'; but Sarfert's list continues to 100,000,000. There seems to be no reason to doubt its correctness. The higher numerals, being little used, may be forgotten. At least Tom did not know them. Lacking a copy of Sarfert's list to suggest it, no search was made for others who may know more than he.

General recognition of distance is implied in terms like igei, 'here' and igelan, 'there'. Igan, also translated 'here', seems to indicate an intermediate distance. Ei, following a noun, means approximately 'this', i lal, 'that'. The same distinction appears in the pronouns melen, 'this', and menna, 'that'. There are two words for the direction upward: iat, implying a moderate distance, and wenang, a great one, as of clouds or stars. Relative measurement of space is accomplished rather precisely, in such work as cance-building, by use of improvised measuring sticks, marked or broken off at the length desired, which then can be matched in another place. Measuring cords are used for the same purpose. A given length is halved or quartered by doubling or redoubling the cord.

More abstract units of measurement seem to be confined to the span and the fathom. The terms for both these units are used with numerical prefixes. One span is seang; two, ruang; three, selang, four, vang. One fathom is sengaf, and so on.

Greater distances are not measured with any exactness. Distances overland on Ifaluk are so short, and so universally known, that there is little need to discuss them. For distances overseas there seems to be no native unit of measurement. In giving sailing directions in English, Tom named relatively short distances in miles. For example, "Because of currents, take first (the star) Tagalemailepalevang for 4 miles; then Tubwumailepalevang, for 1 mile; then Wolewol. After following Wolewol for 1 1/2 miles, you should be able to see Faraulep." No corresponding native unit of distance was found. Apparently navigators have to judge such distances by experience. Total distances to other islands are commonly measured in terms of time, such as "an overnight voyage.

The people of Ifaluk do not count the passing years. Nobody knows how old he is, except relatively, --that is, he knows only that he is younger than this one and older than that other. They know perfectly that many things in nature-stars, prevailing winds, the flowering and fruiting of some kinds of plants, and the coming and going of some kinds of fish and birds--recur in cycles. They even have 12 month names, which could be used to count years, with only the adjustment required by the fact that each of their months has 30 days. But they have no name for the 12-month period as a whole. The longest period they do have, the rag, will be discussed later.

Even the month names are little used. Many, it is said, do not know them. There is a good deal of reckoning by moons, but usually in terms of "next moon" (ulubwaling), "the moon after next" (uletegulun), or "three months from now" (sepelaugal uletegulun).

The month names are names of stars, which again shows some awareness of a stellar (solar) cycle. Each may be used with or without the preface Fale. Fal or fan is a general term for "house." Each month is thought of as being "in the house" of its particular star.

The five chiefs had no difficulty in remembering the month names and were confident that they had them in the right order. But Wolpetau, first chief, said that it was then the moon Aramaus. It was December by the European calendar; about a month after the trade wind became established. But in their list Aramaus was not second in the trade-wind rag, but midway in the other rag, or about midsummer. (Such a discrepancy could come about, of course, because their 30-day moons do not fit the solar cycle.) Moreover, the order of the names in their list does not correspond to that in a list Sarfert collected in 1909. The list as the chiefs gave it follows. The corresponding names from Sarfert's list are placed opposite, with their order in his list indicated by numbers in parentheses:

Month Names

| (Five Chiefs, 1947) | (Sarfert, 1909) |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| (Fale) mairig | maidjik (7) |
| (Fale) mailap | mailap (8) |
| (Falu) eliel | eluol (1) |
| (Fall in | (1) (12) |

4. (Fal) ūl tl (12)
5. (Fan) nag lāki (10)
6. (Fale) mal malu (2)
7. (Fale) gu(a gū (11)
8. (Fale) tumur tumul (6)

1.

3.

| 9. | (Fal) aramaus | elemadj (5) |
|-----|------------------|--------------|
| 10. | (Fale) sarabwolu | djalewol (4) |
| 11. | (Fal) itr | idj (3) |
| 12. | (Fale) sotā | soda (9) |

Concerning one of the months, the chiefs made what seems to be a traditional comment. During Falitr, they said, there is little food.

There are also names for the 30 nights in each moon. The first night is dark of the moon; or, as our interpreter put it, "no can see in east; close to come up in west." He said these terms had no meaning, "only name." The list follows:

| 1. | segouru | 11. | epei | 21. | kopelang |
|-----|-------------|-----|------------|-----|----------------|
| 2. | eling | 12. | olabwua | 22. | koretaleavelag |
| 3. | méjeling | 13. | olmão | 23. | saper mai muli |
| 4. | mésan | 14. | mar | 24. | kilei mei muli |
| 5. | mézavús | 15。 | ur (u) | 25. | komalo |
| 6. | mezaman | 16. | netū | 26. | tromaleval |
| 7. | mejatiu (e) | 17. | iläi | 27. | arovu |
| 8. | nametan | 18. | alēwa | 28. | iaū |
| 9. | truawong | 19. | sapas | 29. | evaing |
| 10. | arobwugu | 20. | avelag (i) | 30. | erapf (i) |
| | | | | | |

There are names also for main divisions of the day; morning (nijor); noon (ulelial), early afternoon (apeik o tangouel); mid-afternoon (lipelelian); late afternoon (nivegov); sunset (nivegov eror) and night (bwong). Finer designation of time is usually attempted by pointing, with arm and fingers extended in a line, at the position the sun is supposed to occupy at the time in question. Though there are names for stages of the tide, I never heard these used as designations of time.

The people have some interest in the remote past, but do not try to measure time in that area. They only tilt their heads back, point upward with wrinkled noses (the usual gesture of pointing), and say "Musuwē, musuwē (long, long ago)." They do not keep genealogies. Most of them can give the names only of those ancestors whom they knew in life. Maroligar, No. 2 chief, managed in the course of several days to think back five generations. That was a unique feat. There is no reckoning time by generations. As for the remote future, I saw no indication that they ever think of it. In general, their time span is short, as compared with that of some other primitive peoples, particularly their distant neighbors in the Pacific, the Polynesians.

One of the clearest units of time in the minds of the people of Ifaluk seems to be the rag. A rag is a period of five months. There are two of them, seu e vang and seu rag (or simply vang and rag), which alternate. In giving the list of month names, the chiefs put the first five in vang; the sixth 'in between'; the next five in rag; and the twelfth again, in between.

Climate

This corresponds fairly well to one of the most striking features of their climate, the seasons; so that rag might be translated "season." The people are quite clear on several characteristics of each rag. The first is the difference in direction of the prevailing wind. During vang the prevailing wind is from the east. During rag it is from the west, though less steadily. The second difference is in the supply of breadfruit. During vang there is very little breadfruit; during rag, there is plenty. A third difference is that one of the important methods of fishing is seasonal. Vang is the time for going out after flying fish (mengor) on moonless nights, with torches of dried coconut leaf and dip-nets. During rag this kind of fishing is not practised. A fourth, lesser difference is that when there is breadfruit, they say, there are no golden plover (kulong). When the breadfruit disappears, the plover arrive. The people offer no explanation of the nature of wind, or its changes or direction.

Native month names do not correspond exactly to those of our calendar, and we have no names for their seasons. But the seasons can be distinguished clearly enough in our terminology. The summary below was made by comparing notes taken during our stay on Ifaluk with "A Climatic Summary of the Caroline Islands", issued in 1944 by the Aerology Section of the Navy. Commander Betts of the Fleet Weather Center at Guam helped further by explaining some of the data.

Vang is the season of northern-hemisphere trade winds, which blow from the east or a little north of east. It corresponds to the winter of more northerly latitudes. The easterly winds set in, light and fitful at first, about November. In 1947 they did not become established until nearly the end of that month, but the season was said to be rather late that year. The trade wind blows more and more steadily through December, and in January and February there are comparatively few calms. It builds up during the day, reaching a maximum in early afternoon and dying down again in the evening. It is generally light, up to 12 miles per hour, rarely more than 18. Beginning about March it is more and more often interrupted by calms.

Rag is the season of calms and variable, prevailingly west winds.

Commander Betts explained that these westerly winds are actually the southernhemisphere trade winds, which reach this latitude when the sun is farthest
north. Blowing from the east to southeast quarter in more southerly latitudes,
they swing clockwise to the southwest of the Carolines and so reach this area
from the west.

Temperature varies little from season to season. It is usually within five degrees of 80° Fahrenheit. The variation between day and night--10 degrees or so--is greater than that between seasons. Clouds often cover the sky and reduce insolation. Effective temperature, measured by rate of evaporation, is also lowered much of the time by breeze. Only bright, still days feel oppressively hot even to Americans. The natives seem to enjoy these, but are then inclined, even more than ever, to sit in the shade.

Rainfall is heavy. The nearest island for which records are available, Lamotrek, had a mean annual precipitation of 104.6 inches during the four years covered by the record. The season of calms and westerly winds, (April to August), is the rainiest, averaging more than 10 inches a month. As a rule, September, October, and November are relatively dry; December and January a little rainier; February the driest month of the year (mean precipitation on Lamotrek 2.1 inches), and March the next driest. However, rainfall may be heavy at any time. On Lamotrek, every month except February and September had more than 10 inches of rain during at least one of the four years of record. As in the case of the wind, the people seem to have no explanation of the nature of rain, though they ascribe an excess of it to the anger of supernatural beings. Spiro notes that they are unaware of the importance of rain to growth of vegetation, having never had occasion to see the effects of drought.

Humidity is also steadily high, though somewhat less so during the season of easterly trade wind. It is disconcerting at first to see the apparently reckless handling of lighted bits of punk, rope, coconut husk, etc., in houses whose floors and roofs are covered with dried coconut leaf. Yet everything is so damp that accidental fires are rare; I saw but one during six months. For the same reason, cooking fires, though made of such light fuel as dried leaves and coconut husks, do not blaze high. They are smudgy so much of the time that most of the cooked food has a smoky taste.

Some of the native experts--which is to say, in this case, the 'captains' or navigators of seagoing canoes--have ways of driving off unpleasant or dangerous weather. One day when it looked very black to windward we heard the sound of a conch-shell horn. Out on a stone pier that projects into the lagoon, seated facing the storm, was our interpreter, acknowledged to be the leading navigator of the island. He was alternately blowing the horn and gesticulating as if waving the storm aside. Although we could hear nothing, it seemed that a spell or incantation ought to go with the gestures. It did, and long after he dictated it to me, --a great favor, for such incantations are not generally known, indeed are rather carefully kept secret, and taught only to fellow-captains who pay for them with suitable presents. A translation of part of the incantation follows:

Dark clouds, the horn!
My god-invoking horn!
My talk goes to the clouds like fire.
Turn aside, wind and cloud!
Bad weather, turn aside!
Die away, move away!

The spell was supposed to act on the rain like fire, and drive it away. That time it worked "like a charm", --which, of course, it was. The next time he tried it, it failed completely. He did not seem disturbed. Fire

does not always win over water. His feeling seemed to be that the incantation had a certain amount of power, which might or might not be enough in a particular case. It was always worth trying.

In spite of magic, during the latter part of the west-wind season and sometimes the early part of the trade-wind season, wind sets in too strongly from the west, uprooting trees and taking the thatch off houses. At worst, it develops into a typhoon. A bad one sends waves clear over the island, carries away houses, and, what is worst, destroys food-bearing plants. The consequences of such a typhoon are vividly pictured in an old song:

Men are taking wing;
Flying in all directions
To islands where there is food, and trees standing.

Let them go, we will stay on.
At least we will have rain to drink.

Not many are staying.
The others can't stand it without shade.
Never mind, the rain will pour down on us,
And we'll find some shade
Under the little trees that are left.
Purak bushes will spring up on the beaches

Now the food is nearly gone. We watch each other eat. Look up, and there are no trees, Here, where it used to be so fine.

Four middle-aged men, asked how many typhoons they remembered, talked the matter over and reported a total of six. Only one of these was so severe that seas washed over the island. The inundation lasted for about two hours, they thought. The people all gathered in and around a house back from the shore. A rope was thrown around them, and all clung to it. Some did not manage to reach this place, and were washed away. All the breadfruit trees, they said, were blown down, most of the coconut trees, and the taro was washed out or destroyed. They remembered hearing of two particularly bad typhoons before their time. Sarfert's list of early chiefs includes mention of four memorable typhoons in the past. A resident of Ifaluk, then, must expect to experience a number of typhoons during his lifetime; and one or more of them will probably endanger the lives of the population.

Topography

Ifaluk consists of a coral reef surrounding a nearly circular lagoon, whose area, according to the U.S. Commercial Company's Survey (Maps), is .939 of a statute square mile. Four islets rise above high-water mark. Toward the south and west are two small ones, one of them a mere sandspit. Two large ones, separated by a narrow channel, run the length of the eastern side of the lagoon and extend somewhat beyond it to north and south. The total land area is .569 of a square mile. The population is concentrated on the lagoon side of the two larger islands, Falalap and Falarik.

Traditionally each of the eight main canoe-houses faces a pass. All but one of these, however, are too shallow for anything larger than a canoe. The steamer pass is on the south, between Falārik and Ellā, the larger of the uninhabited islets. Because of a few large coral heads the entrance is narrow and winding. Their removal would straighten it, and make it wide enough for large ships. In the lagoon there is ample room and depth for anchorage, sheltered during the trade-wind by the two larger islands. Outside the lagoon there is anchorage to the southwest, near the entrance to the pass, sheltered during trade-wind weather by the islet Ellā. Natives say that in a west wind ships used to anchor on the eastern side, off the channel between the two large islands. Landing there must have been difficult at any time, because the reef is steep-to and a high surf nearly always running.

On Falarik the land slopes up very gradually from the lagoon side. About half way across it is level, with some hollow places. Toward the seaward (eastern and northern) side it rises again. The highest land, which appears to be not more than 20 feet above mean sea level, is close to the seaward beaches. From this low ridge the land slopes away much more steeply to a narrow fringing reef.

All around Falalap the beaches are narrow, the slope up from shore relatively abrupt, as on the seaward side of Falarik. A ring of comparatively high land surrounds a central depression which takes up something like half of the area of the island. This conformation, and the extension of Falalap away from the lagoon, give it the appearance of a very small, nearly separate atoll, a little higher than usual, so that the center is a swamp instead of a lagoon.

Virtually all the land was built by coral polyps. The only igneous rock in sight anywhere on it is a single boulder on Falalap. This, the natives say, was brought by canoe in ancient times, as a whetstone for their adzes. Where it came from is no longer remembered.

Thin ledges of beach sandstone, compacted mainly from foraminifera, run along the seaward reef between high and low water mark in a number of places.

The consistency of the soil ranges from a fine muck in the taro swamps to piled blocks that form the highest land, just inshore from the seaward beaches. The lagoon shore of Falarik, and both sides of the channel between the two main islands, are bordered by a broad strip of sand. Except where it is washed by

the sea, this is colored gray by mixture with vegetable matter. All the houses on Falarik, and some of those on Falalap, are on this sandy strip. Between the sand of the lagoon side and the boulders of the seaward side, most of the soil consists of gravel of varying degrees of coarseness, mixed with some sand and humus.

The hollow center of Falalap is a quagmire. Stamping on the wet muck will make it quake perhaps 20 feet away. This swamp is the main source of taro for the people of both islands. Four little swampy depressions near the north end of Falarik are also planted to taro; but their contribution to the food supply is important only to a few households.

Although the land is too flat to form a watershed, drainage is rapid (except in the taro swamp) because of the extremely porous character of the soil. Puddles formed by a heavy downpour soon disappear. However, water seems to lie only a few feet below the surface everywhere. Artificial water-holes are scattered about the interior of Falarik. Hollow places are boggy most of the time. A hole being dug for the corner-post of a canoe-house began to fill with water at a depth of about four feet.

Flora

All the islets of the atoll are covered with a vegetation that thrives on this forbidding-looking soil. The beaches are narrow, and there are no natural clearings. The growth is low in only a few places, next to the beaches and in patches of the big taro swamp. Elsewhere trees give nearly unbroken shade.

Heavy rainfall and rapid drainage have two effects on the vegetation. An unfavorable one is to leach out the soluble part, which is to say much of the plant food, in any decaying vegetable matter that accumulates on the ground. While this may prevent the growth of some plants, it is more than offset by another effect of rainfall and drainage, the leaching out of excess salts. Dr. F. Raymond Fosberg, who participated as a botanist in the U.S. Commercial Company's economic survey of this area, kindly prepared the following explanation of how this works:

"The vegetation may be summarized by saying that it is heavier and more luxuriant in direct relation to the amount of rainfall and the area of the island. This is because, as is well known, salinity produces a condition of physiological drought. Saline areas are characterized by a sparse vegetation similar to that of deserts. Where the rainfall is sufficient and the area is large enough to maintain a permanent lens of fresh or almost fresh water the vegetation of the interior portions is more or less mesophytic and luxuriant."

This effect is heightened by the muck of such places as the taro swamp that takes up the interior of Falalap. To quote Dr. Fosberg again: "It is probable that this muck, besides providing a more fertile substratum, retards the diffusion outward of the available fresh water, also retarding the diffusion inward of salt water that always accompanies dry periods."

The number of plant species listed was 64, of which 26 were trees, three classified as shrubs, and the remaining 35, herbs. After spending several days in helping me collect the native names of plants, Tom assured me that I had all that grow on Ifaluk. Of course, the statement was not accurate. In fact, several kinds were added later, and no doubt some were missed. Still, the list probably gives a fair idea of native knowledge of the flora. Collected specimens were kindly identified at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu by a committee of three experts: Dr. Fosberg; Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., then Honolulu officer of the Pacific Science Board; and Miss Marie Neal of the Bishop Museum staff.

| English or Hawaiian Name | Native Name | Scientific Name |
|--|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| coconut | lu, nu | Cocos nucifera |
| breadfruit | mai | Artocarpus altilis |
| banana | uir | Musa |
| pandanus | far | Pandanus |
| papaya | baiwai | Carica papaya |
| hau | gilivo | Hibiscus tiliaceus |
| kamani (tamanu) | raguēs, sevang, vitou | Calophyllum ino- phyllun Linn. |
| | wutu | Guettarda speciosa |
| | treli | Messerschmidia argentea Linn. |
| hibiscus | flerós | Hibiscus rosa-sinensis |
| bamboo | sur, bwa | Bambuseae |
| pineapple | faretrā | Ananas sativa |
| squash (a summer squash or vegetable marrow) | kalebwäs | Cucurbita pepo |
| moss (all kinds?) | lum | Musci |
| mushroom (all kinds) | talingilipat | Fungi |
| | remag, natu | Scaevola frutescens |
| | kasās | Terminalia catappa? |
| plumeria, frangipani | seuru | Plumeria rubra |
| banyan | giliao | Ficus sp. |
| Staghorn fern | kamarag | Gleichenia sp. |
| spider lily | giop | Crinum sp., probably asiaticum |
| bird's nest fern | enenux | Asplenium nidus |
| (a fern) | riri | Polypodium phym- stodes Linn. |
| purslane | gop | Portulaca samoensis |
| (a grass) | buyol | Lepturus repens (Forst.)(R. Brown) |

| turmeric | angorIk, gerel, geval | Curcuma longa Linn. |
|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (a sedge) | bwogorewau | Cyperus brevifolius (Rottb.) |
| sugar cane | wou | Saccharum officinarum |
| taro | wot | Colocasia esculentia |
| pulaka | pulax | Cyrtosperma chamis- sonis |
| giant arum | file | Alocasia macrorrhiza |
| Polynesian arrowroot | mogmog | Tacca leontope taloides |
| betel pepper | gabwi | Piper betle |
| betel palm | bu | Areca catechu |
| • | gul | Barringtonia assiatica |
| | lel | Morinda citrifolia |
| | avus | Crataeva speciosa |
| | waryng | Ocimum sanctum |
| | aro | Premna integrifolia Linn. |
| | aroma | Pipturus argenteus (Forst.f.)(Wedd.) |
| | kelau, gula | Cordia subcordata Lam. |
| | Gaingei | Pemphis acidula |
| | tria | Rhizophora mucronata Lam. |
| | song | Bruguiera conjugata (Linn.)(Merr.) |

Specimens of some of the plants of less importance to the people were not collected, because of limited room in a plant press improvised out of empty cartons. Having been advised that artificial heat would be necessary to collect plants in this region, I gave up in advance any attempt to preserve specimens. Later, when the trade winds set in, collection seemed worth risking; but the amount was limited to the number of used cartons. Not until we returned to Honolulu did I learn that satisfactory collecting would have been feasible by painting the specimens with formaldehyde.

Native names of plants unidentified for lack of specimens follow:

is

Trees: livalus (possibly Vigna marina), kirali, marat, mot, sol, rangonax, faliap, kili, kuelabo.

Herbs: korax, ualomax, atogobwei, guruguru, kerrio, guan, bogo li le pa, atiIt, keisi, kevakuel, nge.

The most useful plants occur in a number of varieties. Names of some of these indicate the island from which they are traditionally supposed to have come.

Botanical comparison might check the accuracy of these traditions; at any rate, they give some indication of the range of contact with other islands.

Coconut (lu or nu-the vowel sound variable, often liu or similar). Four varieties are distinguished. All are said to occur throughout the Carolines. The people say they can tell at once, by looking at a tree or ripening nut, to which variety it belongs. The difference, as they describe it, is in the shape, and more particularly, the color, of the husk when the fruit is ripening. The names of the varieties are used either like adjectives, following the generic names, or else as nouns, as when we call an apple a Baldwin.

The varieties are: garau(e)rau, husk brown when quite young; mau, husk green and round; tra, husk reddish; ial, yellowish. Of this last variety there are only a few trees on Ifaluk. No distinction is made among the varieties in quality or suitability for particular uses.

Breadfruit (mai): There are two main kinds, easily distinguishable by either the leaf or the fruit.

Mai vae--leaves very little indented; the young leaves not at all. Fruit comparatively small, with a number of large seeds (pukil).

Mai vau--leaves deeply indented. Fruit larger, with a fibrous core and no seeds. Seven sub-varieties of mai vau are distinguished: tagumelin, mai rau, mai mwarei, seuaiki, welige sol, mauli, tro malo.

Mai guiau--leaves deeply indented, like mai vau; fruit with seeds, like

mai vae. Apparently this variety is comparatively unimportant.

No preference of one variety over another is expressed, so far as quality of fruit is concerned. The larger size of the fruit of mai vau and the absence of seeds are recognized as advantages. The seeds of mai vae can be eaten, but are often thrown away. Mai vae seems to bear earlier than mai vau, at least during the secondary crop, that which comes in early in the trade-wind season. The main practical difference among the varieties seems to be that only two of the sub-varieties of mai vau, tagumelin and mai rau, are thought to have wood suitable for outrigger floats. It is said to be more buoyant than that of other varieties.

Banana (Wir; Musa sapientum). Six varieties are recognized. No erect fruit clusters were seen. The fruit of all the varieties brought to us (I think this includes all there are except possibly the two Yap varieties) is sweet and can be eaten raw, though we preferred one or two of them cooked.

<u>bwonger</u>--this is considered the original variety, 'native' to the island. The fruit is large, the skin of an orange color, the flesh somewhat rosy. Fruit prized for eating, fiber for weaving, dried leaves for cigarette wrappers.

wIrIs Truk--supposedly from Truk. Fruit of medium size, pointed, yellow--our favorite. Fiber considered good for weaving, leaves for cigarette wrappers.

reiap--supposedly from Yap. This variety is used for all three purposes, but it is considered inferior.

melawalibwe--another variety ascribed to Yap. Fruit small and little eaten. Leaves not used for cigarette wrappers. This variety is chiefly valued

for fiber from the trunk.

wIrIs Seipan--as the name indicates, supposedly introduced from Saipan. The bright yellow fruit is considered good (we preferred it cooked). Valued also for weaving fiber and cigarette wrappers.

wIri li Valupe--supposedly from Ponape. Short fruit in big bunches. Valued for all three uses. There are only a few plants of this variety on Ifaluk.

Taro (Pulax; Crytosperma chamissonis). Twelve varieties were pointed out: patsa, pulax e mau, pereliau, talinga mor (Mor's ear?), talinga nap (big ear), sia li ralo, pulax i sali, annIpenni, pulax e bwar, filal, pwololo, et I li bwulax, gor. There are considerable differences in color, texture, and flavor of the underground part, and some are considered choicer than others. The varieties are indistinguishable at sight to me, and so they are, Tom assured me, to him. Taro is in the woman's sphere, and only women are experts in it. The only distinguishing characteristic pointed out by his wife, Lagajarong, applied to the variety called et I li bwulax. If I understood her rightly, she said that if you plant the pistil (?) from the flower of this variety, it will grow.

True taro; wot; Colocasia esculenta. An impromptu committee of three women gave me the following list of 18 varieties, and assured me it is complete: elibwa, gaimwem, waligo, likerak, tarewai, sarewak, mivou, tolipanneu, ganipwa, garimar, geratlgi, pei, rangoi, togos, otumalu, outeriap (from Yap). The tubers vary in texture, flavor, and public esteem.

Pandanus -- Three varieties are recognized.

far-considered the old native variety. Grows on relatively high, dry land. The favorite for mats.

far en Nuta--supposedly introduced from 'Nuta', said to be in the Marianas--presumably what our charts call Rota. Cured leaves prized for sails.

pogu--grows in swampy places. Glossy leaves of enormous size. Valued only to wrap around coconut trunks to prevent rats from climbing.

Fauna

All three of the domesticated animals common in Pacific islands--dog, hog, and fowl--are present on Ifaluk. There are also a few cats. All but the cats are used for food, but they do not make up an important part of the diet. Chickens are the most numerous, yet their flesh remains a delicacy. The eggs, which are very small, are rarely eaten.

Hogs are few. The little pigs are treated as pets, occasionally even suckled by the women. When they grow bigger their feeding seems to be rather haphazard. Indeed, except for coconuts and taro--of which they get the left-overs--there is not much food to spare for them. Some reach a good size, and look well fed. But pork is so highly prized, and meat of any kind so scarce, that they are a constant temptation. There seems to be little prospect of their number increasing greatly.

Dogs are not raised for food, but may be eaten on occasion. During our stay on the island, three were killed because they had bitten human beings.

The first was driven into the lagoon and drowned there. The second was reported to have been eaten. Nothing was said about eating the third.

The people tell of rather recent introduction of all three species. In 1909, Sarfert found fowl and two dogs. There were no pigs. He was told that there had been a few cats, but all were lost in the typhoon of 1907.

The appearance of the hogs and chickens seems to bear out the story of recent introduction. The hogs are not long-snouted and razor-backed. Most of them look like Berkshires. The fowls, too, are not long-legged and gamy, as an old native type might be expected to be. Many of them resemble our standard egg-producing breeds. Others are of less familiar colors, but these might develop from crossing.

The appearance of the dogs, though, is distinctive. All seem to be of the same breed. While there is some variation in size, they do not run to extremes either way. They average about the size of fox-hounds or a little less, but shorter in the barrel. The hind legs seem to be somewhat like those of a chow, straighter than the form prevalent with us. They are short-haired, with pointed muzzles. The ears are pointed and partly erect, drooping over for about half their length. (One had bat ears.) The tails, feathered with somewhat longer hair, are carried high and curl over the back. In color most of them are black and tan, mainly black, with some tan on chest, belly, paws, face, and about the base of the tail. A minority are white with tan blotches; a very few, white all over.

The existence of native names, not obviously borrowed, for all three species (gelago, dog; siro, hog; malok, fowl) suggests that knowledge of all these animals may be ancient. One of the songs collected contains a mythical account of the introduction of fowls from heaven. A man named Galuai, carried up there by a huge bird, tied several fowls to his body just before he jumped back to earth. They softened his fall by flapping their wings. But apart from questions of historical accuracy, Galuai came from Yap, and returned there. Moreover, the whole story is so different from anything else collected on Ifaluk that it looks like something borrowed from a different culture.

One possibility is that the three domesticated species have indeed been known on Ifaluk from ancient times, but have died off, perhaps more than once. A typhoon big enough to wash over the island might wipe out any or all of them. In that case, their re-introduction may well be recent. In the case of the dogs, if re-introduction was from another island, they could still be of an old native breed.

As to wild fauna, the only small forms which the natives consider important are pests. They are beginning to be aware, through foreign instruction, of harmful bacteria. Lice infest their heads, and they may be seen delousing each other's hair as a friendly service.

Mosquitoes abound. Two varieties were noticed. One is a small black day-flying kind, common about houses and in other shady places. (Pipiens?) The other is larger, lighter in color, with striped legs, and is active at night. Mosquitoes can be blamed for filariasis, which is not very prevalent. It is

probably unnecessary to add that all this part of the Pacific is free from malaria.

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Flies are even more numerous than mosquitoes. They gather in swarms about food that attracts them, particularly fish and crustaceans. The commonest kind is black, the same to the layman's eye as the common house fly of America. Another is rusty in color, slimmer, with red eyes and wings that stand out from the body.

Nothing was seen or heard of centipedes or scorpions. Spiders of various kinds are common. None was pointed out as dangerous.

There are no snakes, but lizards of several kinds are plentiful. Common about the houses is the little dark kuel (a geko, perhaps Lepidodactylus lugubris). The people are said to fear it because one moment you see it, the next you don't. This fear does not seem to trouble them much, though. Another small variety is the blue-tailed skink (Emoia cyanura--Lesson). Far from being feared, these have been seen to jump on a man's bare leg and off again without attracting any apparent notice. A larger, glossy black lizard, the tagurupai (not identified), is noticeable especially on the trunks of coconut trees. Big monitor lizards (galuf; probably Varanus indicus--Daudin) are found on Falalap, where they are said to have been introduced to prey on rats. The natives say they also eat eggs and young chickens. The people maintain that there are none on Falarik. No large ones were seen there. Smaller ones of similar color are said to be of a different kind.

There are few varieties of land birds. The Micronesian starling (some sub-species of Aplonis opacus) is a common scavenger about the houses. Another is a versatile little songster (lItri), equally at home among the trees, where it catches flies with snapping bill, or on the ground, where it picks at crawling creatures or garbage. In color it is rusty brown on the back, light gray below. This color and its excellent singing suggest a small thrush or chat (turdus obscurus?).

Wading shore birds are more varied. The Pacific golden plover (kulong; Pluvialis dominica fulva Gmelin) is a dooryard bird during that part of the year when it is to be found on Ifaluk. Mention in songs and in conversation showed that the natives have a kind of fondness for it, as Americans and English have for the quite different species called 'robin' in their two countries. Other wading birds are turnstone (nigenrouru; probably Arenaria interpres Linn.); an unidentified species with long straight bill (bwongupalei; perhaps a dotterel, charadrius;) wimbrell or curlew (liak; probably numenius phaeopus variegatus Scopoli); another known only by name, garevash, but from the description quite like the curlew; and herons of three colors—white, 'blue' or slaty; and sooty, virtually black. All were called by the same name, (liapelIk), and all may be forms of the reef heron (Demigretta sacra).

Passing migrants included swallows, seen over the lagoon for a few evenings, and hawks of some broad-winged kind, a pair of which spend about a week on Falarik. Of all the birds mentioned, only the plover seemed to attract more notice among the people than any other familiar bit of landscape.

Sea-birds are numerous and have some importance. One variety, the noddy tern (kurugao; Anous sp.) is used for food. Another common variety is the white fairy tern (giegie; Gygis alba). These two nest on Ifaluk. Both indicate the presence of schools of fish by hovering over them and swooping to catch the small fry on which the school is feeding. Other kinds of tern are seen occasionally, among them the black-naped tern (sterna sumatrana; native name uncertain), but apparently do not nest on the island. The white tropic bird or bos'n bird (malu; Phaethon lepturus) is not common, but is occasionally seen. It is said to be plentiful on uninhabited West Fayu. The same is true of the frigate bird or man o'war bird (getaf; Fregata sp.). The natives have an esthetic admiration for this bird and its soaring flight.

Names of other sea birds were collected, but the birds were not seen and could not be identified. The kėmā or xėmā, described as a large bird 'some of them white, some blue', might be a booby. 'Blue' is a poor name for the color of the brown ones, but Tom's English was far from precise about colors. No boobies nest on Ifaluk, but brown ones were seen at sea not far from there. Koro is a long-tailed seabird, also in two colors: koro wet, a white one, and koro rol, black. Still other varieties mentioned in the lore of navigation are paiennai (white, larger than fairy tern); metalipangerale, with long tail feathers (possibly 'Captain's language' for some species with a different common name); and gerap, a small black and red bird. (The description fits the cardinal honeyeater, Mysomela cardinalis, found on high islands in that part of the Pacific; but that is a land bird.)

No flying-fox or other bats were seen on Ifaluk. The only mammal, other than the three domesticated ones already discussed, is the rat. For a time they overran our tents at night. We set traps and caught one every night for more than a week. After that, whether because of the traps or because a cat began to include a visit to us in its nightly rounds, they did not trouble us again until near the end of our stay. In general, while they were certainly common, they did not seem inordinately numerous. Those we caught were not very big; brownish on head and back, light gray underneath. Some larger and apparently grayer ones were seen among the coconut trees, but not clearly enough to give a definite impression as to whether they were of a different species. Rats are not eaten.

There are several kinds of land crabs. Hermit crabs (yng) are common on the beaches and about the houses. They are not recognized as of any importance, though they may be useful as scavengers. A larger, dark kind (arIk) that digs holes about houses at night, is sometimes eaten, we were told; but apparently not highly regarded. Tom said he never ate them himself. The ragom, that lives in the ground in the bush, is eaten, also crushed to make bait for fish-traps. The usela, not seen, is described as a slow-moving crab that lives in the tops of coconut trees. The largest species, and one of the choicest delicacies, is the coconut crab (afe; Birgus latro Dana). These are only the most familiar kinds. In general, any that are big enough to be worth the trouble are eaten.

Sea animals are far more important to the people than those of air or land. Nearly all varieties that are caught are eaten. Even the whale (<u>ras</u>), though never caught, is eaten on the rare and memorable occasions when one goes aground on the reef. Jawbones of several of them were kept behind the men's house as trophies.

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Exceptions to the rule of eating everything are the shark (pago) and octopus (sauevang? --name discussed next paragraph). This was explained as a mutual arrangement. The people do not eat shark and octopus, so that shark and octopus will not eat them. Once a small octopus-like creature, stuffed into a Japanese mess-kit so that its shape did not show, was brought to us as a gift. It had tentacles, and I now suppose it was a squid; but in asking Tom how to cook it I called it an octopus. With a contemptuous expression he told us to throw it away, saying that Japanese and Trukese eat octopus, but not the people of Ifaluk. Later, after conferring with the chief who brought it, he said it was not an octoput but a gus, a rare delicacy. It was too late then for our gus to be cooked. I had not even looked at it carefully. Asked whether gus is the name for a small octopus, Tom said not. A gus, he explained, has no beak, and will not bite a hand thrust into a hole in the coral, as an octopus will. We never saw another gus.

Tom consistently gave the native name for octopus as sauevang. Some of his remarks about it, --for example, "in the deep water they grow big, with arms like the roots of that tree"--indicated that he knew what the English word meant. Yet a group: of natives once identified as sauevang two pictures in Hosaka's 'Sport Fishing in Hawaii'; one of a conger or white eel, the other of a brown eel. They cannot have mistaken either for octopus, though they might for moray--not illustrated by Hosaka--which is common on the reef. This discrepancy was not noticed in time to clear it up.

Moray and sting-ray (fai) are apparently not eaten, though I have no verbal statement to that effect. A sting-ray brought ashore near our quarters was left hanging in a tree, then lying on the ground, for several days before it disappeared, presumably either eaten by dogs or thrown away.

In Tom's private prayer or incantation for success as a navigator, sting-ray is coupled with shark and giant clam as formidable creatures invoked to watch over him. In translating, he said that the giant clam, called trewai in the incantation, is found only on high islands. We saw no very large Tridacna, but small ones are common on the reefs. They seem not to be important as food. Large trumpet shells are found occasionally, the flesh eaten, and the shell used as a container or kept on the house platform as an ornament. Small shellfish of many kinds are gathered for food on the reef when the surf is not too high; among them sea-snails, limpets, Turbo, and at least one clam-like bivalve.

Far the most important source of animal food is fish. The list of varieties to follow was obtained by two procedures. One was to collect native names of fish brought to us as gifts, or brought ashore in our presence, and of others

said to be important. The other was to show groups of natives the pictures of fish in Hosaka's book, mentioned above. Size and color, not shown in the pictures, were indicated by gestures and words. The people were confident that they knew which of the fish shown in the pictures were familiar to them and which were not. They had names for most of those illustrated, --sometimes more than one name for one picture, which may indicate a difference of opinion, or more than one variety of similar form, or--what is not uncommon--one name for a species when young, another when full grown. Eliminating known cases of that kind and obvious variants of essentially the same name, the total number of names collected is 74. Names obtained in the two ways were compared. Twice the book was taken out to where a pile of fish lay waiting to be distributed, So far as the catch on those days allowed, the pictures were compared with actual specimens. The identifications that follow can probably be trusted as far as larger categories are concerned. Where a single species is widespread, even the specific identification is probably correct. In view of the rough and ready method, some mistakes must be expected. But at least the list will give an idea of the range and character of the fish taken for food.

Classification by habitat seemed useful, but is bound to involve some overlapping, possibly some definite errors.

OPEN SEA OR SURF FISH

| English or Hawaiian Name | Ifaluk Name | Scientific Name |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| albacore | aule | Germo alalunga (Gmelin) |
| barracuda | serau | Sphyraena barracuda (Walbaum) |
| blue crevally | langu (when small, saritr) | Caranx stellatus |
| bonito, skipjack | galangap, garangap, garyng | Euthynnus pelamis |
| bonito, little tunny | ajInnėu | Euthynnus alletteratus (Rafinesque) |
| dolphin, mahimahi | teparo | Coryphaena hippurus (Linn.) |
| flying fish | mengor | Cypselurus simus |
| horse mackerel, akule** | agumau?*,sep* | Selar crumenophthal- mus (Bloch) |

^{*} Native reports inconsistent.

^{**} To me, a fish they called <u>lipau</u> looked very like what in Hawaii is called akule; but the chief Maroligar insisted it was not the same as the picture.

| omaku | | |
|--|-----------------------|--|
| | trep | Caranx mate |
| Sailfish | marelatio | Istiophorus orientalis (Schlegel) |
| uoua | iau | Neomyxus chapitali (Eydoux and Souleyet) |
| red squirrelfish | mol | Myripristis murdjan (Forstal) |
| shiner (? silvery, with rosy blotches) | oerIk | (Anchoviella purpurea?) |
| threadfish, moi | rerepago, 'absent'* | Polydactylus Sexfilis |
| | REEF FISH | |
| alaihi | gutr or kotr | Holocentrus diadema |
| balloon fish | taush | Chilomysturus affinis |
| balloon fish | lotr; when small, wat | Tetrodon hispidus (Linnaeus) |
| Linalea, kala | ig valevale | Naso unicornis (Forskal) |
| maiko | gemaruaga | Hepatus lineolatus |
| manini | limen | Hepatus triostegus (Linnaeus) |
| manini, yellow | lIgarigari | Chaetodon unimacula- tus (Bloch) |
| mu | tralautr | Monotaxis grandocu- lis (Forskal) |
| nenue | rel | Kyphosus fuscus (Lacepede**) |
| wahoo, ono | ngeli | Acanthocybium (Cuvier) |
| yellowfin tuna, ahi | tanger, tangIri, | Neothunnus macrop- |
| J 021-0 W 1211 0 121-0 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 | (when small, tagu) | terus (Schlegel) |
| | LAGOON FISH | |
| flounder | liperi | Platophrys mancus (Broussonet) |
| milkfish | autā* | Chanos chanos |
| mullet | geraf, auta* | Mugil cephalos |

^{*} Native reports inconsistent.

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^{**} The rel of Ifaluk is probably not <u>fuscus</u>; at least it has no brown or tawny tinge, but looks in different lights, black, gray, or gleaming silver. The scales are silver-white, outlined with black.

| needlefish banded damselfish | ewo, kang, ta'aku maze | Belone playura Abudefduf (Quoy and Gaimard) |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
| goatfish | 'many kinds' fauligi | Pseudupeneus |
| | semarubwong seuiarang (yellow) shou, sounalo perhaps others. | |
| hawkfish, black-sided | galietr, mwelialo* | Paracirrhites forsteri (Schneider) |
| hawkfish, white-lined | lemware | Paracirrhites arcatus (Cuvier) |
| scorpion fish, nohu | lou** | Scorpaenopsis gib- bosus (Schneider) |
| opule | gago (luku) | Anampses cuvier (Quoy and Gaimard) |
| pao'o | limwale | Salarius zebra (Vaillant and Sauvage) |
| papio | arong, trep* | not given by Hosaka |
| sandfish; a'awa | vatre | Lepidaplois bilunulatis (Lacepede) |
| snapper | taiau | Aprion virescens (Valenciennes) |
| spot pom | shonno | Abudefduf sordidus (Forskal) |
| surgeon fish | evali | Hepatus bariene (Lesson) |
| kihikihi | iwajola | not given by Hosaka |
| triggerfish | bwup | Balistapus rectangulus (Schneider) |
| triggerfish, black | perematr | Melichthys buniva (Lacepede) |
| ulua, black | arong | Caranx sexfasciatus (Quoy and Gaimard) |
| ulua, white | etām | Carangoides ajax (Snyder) |
| ulua, silver | silalio (when small) | Blepharis ciliaris (Bloch) |
| upapalu | ligotro | Amia frenata (Valenciennes) |
| | | , |

^{*} Native reports inconsistent.

^{**} Asked if they eat this fish, which is sometimes poisonous, natives said they do.

| weke pueo | merap | Upeneus arge (Jordon and Evermann) |
|------------------------|---|---|
| weke ula | wōmei | Mulloidicthys auri- flamma (Forskal) |
| wrasse ?* | pezap | not given by Hosaka |
| wrasse, green; hinalea | iōiō** | Thalassoma umbro- stygma (Ruppell) |
| parrot fish | 'many kinds' are (red) are kulong (black-spotted) | Callyodon sp. |
| | fagilimat, gauagaua gIrigIri, kabwu | |
| | moguaimwe, ngItra ujā (blue), perhaps others | |
| po'opa'a | luluau | Cirrhitus pinnulatus (Schneider) |
| long-fin razorfish | petoura | Iniistius pave (Valenciennes) |
| redfish, big-eye | nîpau | Priacanthus cruentatus (Lacepede) |
| red squirrelfish | mol. | Myripristus murdjar (Forskal) |
| | | |

Native names of fish not otherwise identified:

fofo, an open-sea fish, may be a yard long, slim, caught in traps around drifting logs. Except for small size resembles Hawaiian ono (Acanthocybium solandri) but natives, shown the picture of ono, insisted it was a different kind.

lipwaix, a reef fish, caught by angling; eight inches to a foot long. Prominent pointed teeth. Color, blotched red and purple.

porosh--named, not seen; 'small mouth, fat inside skin.' (These characteristics resemble rel; another Kyphosus?)

ireileile--named, not seen; dorsal and ventral fins extend to tail. ora--small yellow reef fish.

Most prized of all animal foods is the meat of the sea turtle. Though the sight of one or two of them in the lagoon is not uncommon, they are not often taken. We knew of four being caught during our six months on Ifaluk; three of them at one time. They are made still scarcer for most of the people by the fact that the highest chief has a right to all of them. He distributes first to his clan, Kovalu. Others get only what surplus he cares to distribute to them. For the lower orders, the taste of turtle is a rare delight.

- * Long, nearly tubular snout; about 10 inches long; rosy head, after parts darker.
- ** Native reports inconsistent.

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On the whole, raw materials to be found on Ifaluk and nearby atolls, whether supplied by nature or introduced by man, add up to a decidedly meager offering. Among foodstuffs, only coconuts, taro--more exactly, <u>pulax</u>--and breadfruit are plentiful. (Breadfruit is a seasonal crop but, as will be shown, is available between bearing seasons in preserved form.) Seafood is present in great variety. The quantity available varies with the seasons and with other factors.

Some of these, such as the movements of fish that travel in schools, are so uncontrollable and unpredictable that they can only be classified as 'fishermen's luck.' Others include fishing equipment and techniques. Because of their importance, this matter will be considered again at the close of the account of fishing technology.

Materials other than foodstuffs are also limited, except for coral. Without coral there would be no plants and no people, but it has few more specific uses.

The supply of wood, whether for fuel or timber, is scanty. Breadfruit makes a good soft wood; but since the trees are needed to grow food, there is little of it to spare. Many species furnish hard wood; but on Ifaluk none of them grow into large trees.

This environment, rather inhospitable as far as supply of raw materials is concerned, decidedly limits the development of native crafts and industries. The same effect is produced by the climate, a matter in which the environment is, most of the time, anything but severe. There is no need for elaborate development of shelter or clothing. Industry, particularly in building, is still further discouraged by the worst feature of the climate, the typhoons. They do not come often, but when they do, they destroy almost everything that men can make. Two more geographic factors make for simplicity in human works and ways. One, that so small an island can support but few people. The other, that stretches of sea isolate these few from other peoples. These factors keep to a minimum the stimulus of contact with other minds and their inventions.

TECHNOLOGY

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This section deals with the natives' ways of putting to use the material resources outlined in preceding pages. Apparently the people of Ifaluk, like most peoples, have invented very little of their technology themselves. Virtually all of it is shared with neighboring islands, and its fundamentals are known far and wide over the Pacific. No evidence of local invention was discovered, unless songs locally composed, or the custom of sea-burial which seems to be confined to Ifaluk, can be attributed to local invention. Comparative study may indicate that this atoll has made some other contribution to the common stock of technology. Whether or no, this cannot be determined by data from Ifaluk alone. Here it is only possible to sum up the cultural resources or traditional techniques which enable the natives to make a living out of the rather slim stock of raw materials which their island affords them.

Uses of Minerals

House floors and house platforms are graded and covered with waveworn coral gravel (faumax). Water drains through this rapidly, keeping the platforms relatively clean and dry in rainy weather. Commonly the gravel is outlined with a row of coral blocks, which keep it in place. Along the lower sides of platforms on sloping ground the blocks are piled to form a rudimentary retaining wall. Appearance was clearly the motive for an elaboration noted on one site. This has an outer and an inner platform, the latter a few inches higher. A similar bit of terracing, somewhat overgrown, marks one side of the platform at Katelū where the men's house of Rauau district formerly stood. This decoration apparently served to enhance the dignity of the place.

Coral blocks are piled in several places to form piers that extend into the lagoon. Large blocks form walls around the outside. These are filled in with finer rubble. On some of the piers are little houses, which get more breeze than those set back in the coconut grove. These buildings, though, being correspondingly exposed to high winds, do not last long. Two were destroyed during our stay. Two piers near our tent had lost the buildings that once stood on them, and the seaward walls had been battered in by waves during some typhoon.

Coral blocks are also used to build the fishing weirs described later.

A kind of stone, coralline in origin but of relatively dense, even texture and crystalline appearance, is obtained under water at a single location on the seaward side of the reef a little west of the pass, near the uninhabited island Ellä. From this are made pounders (faulipo), which are used by the women to mash taro and breadfruit. The pounders are of the same general shape as those of Polynesia. They have rounded vertical handles which flare outward at both ends: slightly at the top, to form a knob; much more at the bottom, forming a heavy base with round, slightly convex pounding surface. Those used on Ifaluk

are comparatively small, perhaps because it is hard to find larger pieces of the stone without cracks or flaws. Most of them are about 8 inches high and 5 inches in diameter at the base.

The workmanship is rough and simple. The only decoration seen consists of one or two little bosses left projecting on top of the handle. Pounders are made by either men or women. The implement used nowadays to make them is an old hatchet head without a handle. Holding the stone in the left hand and the hatchet head in the right, the craftsman hacks out crisscross lines on the places to be cut down, particularly what is to become the handle. Then he chips off the squares left projecting between the lines; pecks them off, rather, for most of the stone comes away as dust instead of chips. When the shape has been roughed out, the surface is finished by rubbing with another piece of stone. It is slow work. An elderly woman was seen busy at one nearly every morning for about two weeks.

Lime is made in Ifaluk, as in many Pacific islands, by burning coral over a large wood fire in a pit. It forms the pigment for the white lines in the traditional design used for painting a canoe. Mixed with water and ashes of burned coconut husks, it makes a mortar or putty (bwer) for sealing the holes about the lashings in canoe-hulls. Before the advent of foreign dyes, it was mixed with an infusion of bark of the lel tree to make a red dye for native cloth. The people of Ifaluk do not use lime to clean and bleach their hair.

The beach sandstone (perou) found in ledges on the reef between high and low water mark is known to be harder and stronger than coral. But the people have few uses for it. The corner posts of a single building, the men's house, are of perou. Slabs long enough for this use are hard to find, still harder to haul into place. Their only advantage over wooden posts is that they do not rot in the ground. Four slabs, apparently once corner posts, are all that is left of the men's house that once stood just inland from the present site. The stone posts of the men's house, which itself symbolizes the authority of the chiefs, are symbols of strength and permanence. This is brought out in the name of one of the men's religious dances, sur perou (stone house post). The idea seems to be that everything rests on that firm base.

Slabs of <u>perou</u>, which has a smoother, straighter surface than coral, are used for the top course of the walls that surround the stone piers. An occasional one is seen as a backrest (mageru) on a house platform.

Uses of Coconut

Human life on Ifaluk depends on the coconut palm. The story of how much Pacific island peoples rely on this 'most useful of trees' has been told repeatedly But this atoll culture can not be described without retelling their particular version.

The sandy strip around the lagoon side of the two larger islands, and on both sides of the channel between them, is virtually unbroken coconut grove. Old coconut plantings, more or less gone back to bush, run clear across the

northern tip of Falarik, and extend southward beyond the houses on the eastern shore of Falalap. Coconut trees are mixed with the other vegetation everywhere except in the heart of the taro swamp that takes up the center of Falalap. Because of this mixture, no accurate estimate of the percentage of land taken up by coconuts seemed feasible. All that can be said is that the fraction must be large.

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Perhaps the most important of all uses of coconut are drinking the juice of the young nuts and eating the meat, particularly of the ripe ones. Like most Pacific islanders, the Ifaluk people have different names for the nut at different stages. A nut full-grown but green, full of good juice to drink, is called upu. When somewhat more mature, with sweeter juice but the flesh still soft, it is called seou. A ripe nut is mazou. A very ripe one, suitable for making copra, is $tr\overline{\delta}$; a sprouting nut, $tr\overline{\delta}$ far.

Though some of the water in dug wells, or that collected in helmet shells or foreign metal drums, is used for drinking, the juice of young coconuts makes up far the greatest part of the drinking water. It is also used in a healing ritual which involves breaking open a young nut above the head of the patient, so that the juice pours over him.

The soft flesh of the young nut may be scooped out and eaten. Scoops are made, as generally in the tropical Pacific, by cutting off a bit of the green husk with a slanting blow of the knife, which gives it a sharp edge and a spoon-like shape. The hard flesh of the ripe nut may be split out of the shell and either eaten raw or roasted over an open fire. More commonly, though, it is removed by grating with an instrument like a spoon with a round bowl and a toothed edge where the point of one of our spoons would be. These are made of pieces of white metal like what used to be called "German silver." Making them is said to be an industry of many years' standing throughout the Carolines. Raw coconut eaten in this way is one of the main articles of diet. Another is the spongy body that fills the center of a sprouting nut. These are eaten without cooking or other preparation.

To prepare for cooking with other vegetables, the flesh of the ripe nut is grated with a different instrument, the large grater in general use throughout the tropical Pacific. It consists of a toothed edge, curved to fit the inside of a coconut, and attached to a stick. The stick may be laid across a log, or may be cut from a bough or sapling near where two branches fork off. The butt of a main piece and short length of the branches form a tripod. The grating edge, lashed to the projecting end of the main piece, may be of coconut shell or even rough coral; but nowadays virtually every household has a grater with a cutting edge filed out of a piece of steel. The grater is straddled and a half coconut, held in both hands, rubbed over it by pushing away from the body. The grated meat is put in a bowl, water poured over it, and the creamy juice squeezed out with the hands. Wringers of coconut husk fiber, which make a richer cream, but take more muscle, are not used in Ifaluk.

The starchy vegetables which make up the bulk of the diet are commonly cooked in this coconut cream. Rarely is a meal served without either taro or

breadfruit enriched with it. Coconut cream supplies most of the oil in the diet, though supplemented by oil from fish.

It would be a sad day in an Ifaluk household if the morning and evening meals lacked one more coconut product, --the fresh toddy (gari) extracted from the flower stalks. Collecting toddy, morning and afternoon, is a daily task for the younger men. Climbing coconut trees is not expected of older ones.

Ripe coconuts have one more use. It is customary to oil the skin with coconut after the bath. This especially on dress occasions, when the oil may be mixed with perfume, of which the people are extravagantly fond, or with flame-colored turmeric paint, imported from Yap or Truk. Oil is extracted by trying out grated coconut over a slow fire. The oil gradually rises to the top. For everyday use, though, few go to so much trouble. Half of a ripe coconut, with its meat grated with the ever-present little hand grater and rubbed over the body, supplies oil enough.

Coconut ointment has a high sentimental value. The commonest conventional ending for a lament is the word <u>Gapitei--my</u> coconut ointment. It is a term of endearment, --as if nothing could be more precious.

The people know how to ferment the juice and make an alcoholic drink of it. All that is necessary is to abstain from washing the shells in which it is collected, and from straining it; and then to let it stand for four days. The chiefs forbid the practise. Their prohibition works about as well as that tried for some years by the United States. That is to say, those who enjoy drinking fermented toddy (called tubwa as in Yap) make it quietly and drink it without interference. Some of the men drink glass after glass in the course of an evening. A slightly bleary look about the eyes, and a tendency to be jovial or sentimentally friendly, were the only effects we noticed. Drunkenness to the point of a staggering gait or quarrelsome talk, let alone violence, was completely absent. Toddy is not the problem in Ifaluk that it is said to be in some more populous islands.

The process of making toddy is simple. A flower stalk is cut off squarely just short of the bud. It is then bound around with sinnet cord, taking turns about a half-inch apart. From this cord is slung a coconut shell, with a hole in the top, to catch the liquid that drips from the cut edge. This edge must be continually cut back, a narrow slice at a time, to keep the wound fresh. The toddy-maker must climb the tree, change shells, and freshen the cut, twice a day. The juice is strained through a funnel made of the fabric from around the base of the leaves. Toddy is carried and kept, nowadays, in glass bottles.

Some trees will not yield toddy at all. The people have no way of telling this in advance. An average tree, they say, yields about a quart a day, an especially good one, two or three quarts. One flower stalk will drip continuously for about two months. After that it is allowed to heal and the tree given a rest. The trees are not injured if treated in this way, the natives say.

Fresh toddy is considered especially good for children and old people, but all ages enjoy it. It is milky white in color, and has a sweet taste. Used with

taro, in addition to coconut cream, it makes some of the few delicacies of Ifaluk cooking.

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The shell of the nut, with a round hole cut in the bud end, is used as a bottle (peraliet) to collect toddy. The disc cut out may be used as a lid. Such a covered container, with a bit of sennit cord for a bail, is called louya. A half shell makes a cup, dipper, or small bowl. Strung on a cord with the hollow side down, a coconut half shell will keep rats from getting at food suspended below it.

Whole ripe nuts in their husks are lying on the ground everywhere about the houses. Here they may be used as furniture. The people hardly ever sit on the ground. If there is reason to sit outdoors longer than it is comfortable to squat, they will tuck a coconut under them for a stool. In the canoe-houses, where the men spend a great part of their days, working at light jobs, talking, smoking, or simply sitting, coconuts in the husk are always at hand, and are used as pillows, knee-rests or elbow-rests.

A ripe coconut in its husk may serve as a charm (<u>mwiri</u>). In one of the songs, a woman asks such a charm-simply a coconut in the husk, placed beside the house--to ensure the safe return of her lover who is at sea. With a strip of young leaf tied about it, knotted in three places, the coconut becomes a <u>rol gapesh</u>, and takes on special power. In the ritual performed just before a canoe sets out on an interisland voyage, one of these is tapped against the seams of the hull. It is credited with power to prevent leaks.

Coconuts are husked in the way usual in tropical Pacific islands. A stake of hard wood, some $2\ 1/2$ feet long, is pointed at both ends. One end is driven into the ground. The coconut, held with one hand at each end, is jammed against the other end of the stake where the point protrudes, and the husk pried off in strips.

This supplies another useful product. A piece of coconut husk makes a scrubbing brush for a bath. It serves as a napkin to wipe off the fingers after a meal. Dry coconut husks are important as fuel. One of them will hold fire until time for the next smoke, or while carrying borrowed fire from one house to another. Thin slices of coconut husk, with its rather spongy texture, are laid between the planks of a canoe before they are gummed and lashed together. They expand when wet, and keep the seams tight.

Charcoal from burnt coconut husks is mixed with coral lime to make the putty or mortar used to seal the holes in a canoe hull where the lashing runs through.

Short lengths of a crude kind of rope are twisted out of raw coconut husk fiber. They make wicks (atolief) to preserve fire. Such a wick is commonly kept alight during a sea voyage.

The principal use of coconut husks is to supply fiber--sennit--for cordage. Preparation of sennit (gos) is women's work. The husks are first soaked in fresh water to soften them, and dissolve some of the matter that holds the fibers together. If there are no natural pools about, as there are on the borders of the taro swamp on Falalap, artificial water-holes, called libwaligos, are dug and

walled with blocks of coral. Men may do the work, but the finished pools are tabu to men. If a man goes into one, he will catch no fish for 20 days afterward, and will get sick if he even tries, --so they say.

When the fibers are sufficiently loosened, a woman takes them to the shore and sits in the shallow water with a short log or projecting coral head in front of her. This she uses as an anvil, laying the softened husks on it and beating them with a stick until the fibers separate. During the process she repeatedly dips them in the water and shakes them about to remove all but the fibers. Finally she takes these ashore and spreads them in the sun to dry. They now form a light, fluffy mass.

From this point men take over. Making rope is the light work they carry about with them to sociable gatherings, as a woman may take her knitting in our culture. They make rope by the hour as they sit with their friends in the canoe houses. It does not interfere with talking or smoking.

The fibers are carefully picked over until they all lie parallel. Little tufts of them are pulled out and twisted, with one hand at each end, into single strands two or three feet long. When enough of these are on hand, they are rolled together between palm and thigh--most often on the right, but sometimes on the left--into two-strand cord.

This cord can be made as long as desired. Its thickness, too, can be varied. The smallest is called golgaulIk. What seems to be the commonest size, about 1/8" to 3/16" in diameter, is golgol. A larger two-strand cord, about 3/8" in diameter, is geref. A third strand may be added to this by another rolling on the thigh; it is then called garotel. Stouter ropes, in order of increasing size, are taani, taliou rIk, and taliounap. Hawsers (tennap) are made of three strands of rope. In laying these, one man holds the finished end, and three others, each holding one strand, do a sort of maypole dance at the working end. When a piece a few feet long has been laid, it is slung over a beam, and the man holding the finished end leans back, using his weight to tighten it. On the other end the three holding separate strands do the same, ensuring a tightly-laid hawser.

Sennit cordage has an indefinite variety of uses. One of the most important is that of fastening together the timbers of canoes and houses, where it replaces the nails of our culture. Quite literally it accompanies the people of Ifaluk from the cradle to the grave, for their cradles are strung with the cord, which forms bedsprings, and hung up by it; while enormous lengths of rope, brought by all the men as a last tribute, form the outer wrapping of a body when it is taken to sea for burial.

Another important use of sennit cordage is for making fishing nets. Light cotton netting, used for dip-nets and a few light seines, is bought ready-made from abroad; but large seines (ating) 5 or 6 feet wide and up to 200 feet long, are made of golgol.

Leaves of coconut have many uses. With their leaflets plaited together in various ways, they make thatch for the roofs of houses, screens for the walls, and sitting mats for the floors. (These are described in some detail in the

section on house-building, p. 60.)

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Baskets (wetau) of coconut leaf are carried about under men's arms, to do the work performed by pockets in our culture. They usually contain such personal gear as a bush knife, a small coconut grater, and smaller baskets of pandanus which hold tobacco and flint and steel. These coconut baskets are of several shapes. The cruder ones are quickly made of green leaf, plaited in check with the leaflet opened out to its full width. These are made by either men or women. The better ones are made of cured leaf, with the leaflets doubled and trimmed. This makes a basket of double thickness and of much finer wefts. This type is made only by women.

One of the simplest of the baskets of open green leaf is called wetau lugor, or in a large size trugulilugor. To make one of these, a leaf is split. The halves are laid with the trimmed half midribs on each side. The leaflets are plaited together in check, and their tips joined in a braid, which is finished off with a knot. This results in a flat sheet, which is folded over to hold sennit fiber for making rope. As the ends are left open, it is really a folder rather than a basket. A basket of similar construction, but with the plaiting continued around the ends to close or partly close them, is called wetau ruk (Truk basket). A round basket with a long braided handle, called gato, is used to carry food bowls. This type is illustrated in Plate I of Damm's report. The commonest type of finer basket, made of cured and doubled leaf, is called wetau tuk. Each side is made of two half leaves, with their half-midribs trimmed down to very thin strips. Alternate leaflets of each are first plaited to form a rim. After one row, the two leaflets are plaited together in twill to form one side of the basket. The plaiting is only a few rows wide at the ends, at least twice that in the middle, giving the rimits characteristic convex shape. The other side is made in the same way. Then the two are joined by a braid. forming a fringe. A basket of generally similar construction, but more nearly circular, with the curved rim continued around both ends, is called auruel. It is attributed to Yap. Both of these types may be of recent introduction. At any rate, Damm's illustration shows three variants of another type, similarly plaited in twill with doubled leaflets, but of a different shape. It does not show any with the convex brims now in fashion.

Dried coconut leaves are used as torches, especially in night fishing Other uses of the leaves in fishing will be described later.

Coconut leaves. commonly including some live ones from sprouted nuts, may be tied and twisted together around any area where trespassers are not wanted. These barriers are flimsy. There is no attempt to make effective fences of them. Their use is symbolic; they are recognized as tabu signs. Another symbolic use is waving a coconut leaf over the patient in several of the little healing rituals that accompany administration of medicines.

Half a coconut leaf, tied about the waist over the loin-cloth, forms part of a man's costume when he is dressed to take part in a dance. For most of these ornamental kilts, freshly cut green leaf is used. A few prefer brown, withered leaves.

Young coconut leaves, before they open out, are prized for their color, which ranges from ivory to pale greenish yellow. Ornaments for the ankles, wrists, upper arms, neck and head, and bandoliers slung over one shoulder, are made of this nearly white young leaf (ubwut). There are many ways of tying the leaf to make the pointed ends stick out attractively. It may also be cut into zigzag or lacy patterns.

A man will put on a bit of this leaf when he turns out for any communal task, such as repairing a canoe-house. It appears in greatest profusion on men adorned for the dance. Women are not forbidden to wear it, but it is rarely seen on them. On Ifaluk it is the males who wear the bright plumage.

Finally this young leaf may be an agent of supernatural power. Part of the ritual for a canoe about to set off on a long voyage is to sweep off the hull with <u>ubwut</u>, wave it over both ends, then fasten pieces of it to the end posts. This is to keep off misfortune. On shore, squares of mat about 18 inches across are plaited of it, taken to the house of the great gods to be blessed or endowed with power, then hung on branches all about the shore. They are supposed to keep evil sea-spirits from landing.

Bright young coconut leaf is often a symbol of success. A fishing party that has had exceptional luck may celebrate, and announce the good news, by putting on <u>ubwut</u> as the canoe nears home. A man who has won the right to the title of sea-captain (palu) by successfully completing an inter-island voyage, may wear <u>ubwut</u> ornaments as insignia of his new distinction.

Dry brown leaf makes kindling and fuel--for Ifaluk, though well wooded, has such a small area that firewood is scarce. A bonfire of dry coconut leaf will illuminate a night gathering. Bundles of it make torches used in several kinds of night fishing.

The slender leaflet midribs (<u>logto</u>) some 1/8 inch in diameter, where the midrib of the whole leaf is several inches--are useful where lightness and flexibility are necessary. On a frame of stiffer withes, lengths of leaflet midrib are lashed crisscross to make a fish trap (<u>ul pam</u>) of the smaller size. These are set on the bottom in shallow water, weighted down with sand and baited with crushed crabs, to catch small fish.

Children use coconut leaflet midrib for some of their toys. A big bread-fruit leaf, stiffened here and there by weaving strips of leaflet midrib in and out, along and across, makes a perfectly good kite. Other toys are made in the same way. Tiny coconuts, the size of a small child's fist, are fitted with a strip of leaflet midrib for a stem, and spun as tops.

Coconut wood varies in quality from a hard, dense layer on the outside of the trunk to a comparatively pithy center. The wood rots rather quickly when exposed to moisture. For this reason none of it is used in canoes, and coconut trunks are not set in the ground as posts for houses except when nothing better is available. They are then put over a fire and scorched to harden them, but even so are said to last only a year or two.

Under a roof and clear of the ground, coconut wood escapes this disadvantage. It is in general used for the beams that form the superstructure of

the house. Where thin, elastic strips are needed, the hard outer layer makes excellent material. So coconut is considered the best of wood for thatch rafters. The same qualities make it the only wood used for fish spears (kowai). On Ifaluk these are not light lances but heavy pikes 15 to 20 feet long. They have simple points without barbs. They are used mainly in a bonito drive when the school of fish is not considered large enough to drive ashore.

The stout midribs of coconut leaves are laid crosswise in the path of a canoe being hauled to or from the canoe-house. As this green midrib does not burn readily, it also makes a good rack for smoking fish. Its perfectly straight grain adapts it to still other uses. A strip of it makes a flexible ruler, for measuring and drawing lines on the curved surface of a canoe hull during its construction. Smaller strips peeled off the surface make thongs for tying thatch to a roof. A strip thin as a thread, formed into a loop and held between a woman's fingers, is used to split pandanus leaf into strips of even width to make a mat or fine basket.

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Still other parts of the coconut tree are useful. The clothlike fabric (ulu or ululu) that grows about the base of the leaves makes a strainer for toddy or medicine. Mothers make water-droppers of it for their babies. Folding a piece into the shape of a funnel, they put some fragrant herb into it, then dip it in water, hold it over the baby's mouth, and let the water drop in. Some of the herbs used for this purpose are listed on p. 58 (this ms.)

A dry fruit stalk makes a crude broom, when one of the better brooms of leaflet midrib tied to a handle is not available. Dry flower spathes, while less used for torches than in some Pacific islands, occasionally serve for firebrands or kindling.

We have seen that the coconut is meat and drink to the people of Ifaluk; supplies most of the material for their houses; provides the cordage used to hold all composite wooden articles together; makes baskets, mats, fuel, and has a multitude of other uses, even acting as a symbol and agent of supernatural power. The list above does not pretend to be complete. Whether human life could be sustained on such an atoll without this plant is open to question. If it could, it would have to be a radically different life from that which the people lead there now.

Uses of Breadfruit

Breadfruit is the principal starchy food, when it is bearing. Its wood is also the most in demand for timber. In season, breadfruit makes up more of the bulk of the diet than anything else. Its main season is the rag, the time of prevailing westerly winds, approximately June to November. The crop reaches its height about July, then dwindles until by November there is very little. A second but smaller crop comes in the trade-wind season. During our stay, breadfruit seemed to be coming in again in January. Mai vae madeup most or all of it. We were told that it would have come earlier but for two

near-hurricanes, one in November and the other late in December, that destroyed much of the young fruit.

Breadfruit is the only food preserved for any great length of time. (Bonito are smoked, but only to keep them until they can be eaten, which takes two weeks or so with a big catch.) At the height of its bearing season there is more breadfruit than the people can eat. Every household preserves some of the surplus.

The fruit is cut up, mashed with coral pounders, and put into a net made for the purpose (trou li mare). When the net is full it is wrapped up, fastened and carried--making, in most households, a load for three or four men--into the lagoon. There it is weighted down with blocks of coral and left overnight. In the morning it is brought ashore and put into a pit lined with leaves. After one night there the pit is opened and some of the breadfruit eaten at once. (We foreigners found this mashed and salted breadfruit about the most palatable form of all.) Next, the breadfruit is put back into the pits for the long wait. The pits are lined with big glossy leaves of gul (Barringtonia asiatica). The breadfruit is wrapped up in separate lumps, most of them about half the size of a loaf of bread. The pit is filled with these breadfruit-leaf packages. When it is full, it is covered over with coconut leaves, and these are weighted down with coral. Laid down in this way, mare, as it is called, is said to keep for several years. During the time when there is no fresh breadfruit to be had mare is taken out now and then to vary the daily diet of taro. At this stage it has a penetrating and, to Americans, most offensive smell. But the natives seem to like it no less than their other starchy foods.

Breadfruit sap makes a gum (bwlls) used to glue the joints between canoe planks. This is collected by slashing the bark of the tree in several places and, after gum has gathered on the wound, scraping it off with a knife. The day after collecting, it is washed in salt water and bits of bark and other foreign matter taken out. Then it is soaked in fresh water for several days and kept in a bottle.

Breadfruit gum is also the source of the soot used in tattooing. It is burned and the soot collected on a smooth surface held over the fire. The surface used in recent times has been that of 'Yap bottles', --huge glass carboys from Japan. The soot is scraped off the glass on a breadfruit leaf, then put into a coconut half-shell and mixed with a little water until ready for use. (As tattooing was no longer practised on Ifaluk at the time of our stay, this is a past rather than present use of breadfruit, --yet so recent that the process was fresh in memory, at least among the older people.)

The yellow wood of the breadfruit is light, soft, and easily worked, yet does not split easily and is said to be very durable. It constitutes the underbody of nearly all canoe hulls (I saw one small underbody of the tougher ragues, Calophyllum inophyllum, a favorite in high islands.) Breadfruit wood is also used for all canoe planks and outrigger floats. Only smaller parts subject to special strain, like end posts, outrigger booms, and the sticks and braces of the outrigger attachments, are made of harder and heavier wood.

Uses of Taro

Taro is the staple starchy food of the trade-wind season, as breadfruit is of the season of westerly winds. This is not because more taro is available at one time than another--it can be harvested at any time--but because it is used most when breadfruit is scarce.

The limiting factor to the supply of taro on Ifaluk is labor. The big swamp on Falalap has been planted to taro from time immemorial. More grows there now than can be eaten or taken care of, --especially since the laboricus work of weeding and fertilizing it is left entirely to women.

If we may use the word taro for a moment in a broader sense than the botanists would approve, there are three main types on Ifaluk. The one that should not be called taro is the giant arum (file; Alocasia macrorrhiza) sometimes called in English by the Polynesian name kape. A second is the coarse yellow-fleshed pulaka (pulax; Cyrtosperma chamissonis) grown on atolls far and wide over the Pacific, commonly in artificial pits. The third is true taro, of the type favored on high islands (wot; Colocasia esculenta). This is smaller than the other two, and its leaves are rounded where theirs come to three points. Its flesh is finer-grained, gray in color with a purplish cast.

The giant arum or file is less exacting in the matter of soil than the others. It grows rankly about the edges of water-holes or apparently wherever it can get plenty of moisture from below. Though the natives plant it and weed around it, they eat it much less than the others. (Tom said this was a matter of individual taste, and possibly we did not happen to observe households particularly fond of file.) Two reasons were given for this. One is that not all women know how to prepare file properly. A good deal of the outside must be taken off, for one thing. If it is not properly prepared the minute spicules in it will bite the tongue and throat. The other reason is that 'If a man eats file, he won't catch any fish.'

Pulax is the type grown in greatest quantity in the Falalap taro swamp (nibwel--to distinguish from niwel, which means forest or 'bush'.) Everybody on either island has a hereditary right to share in at least one patch in this swamp.

Wot is grown in smallest quantity, apparently because it requires most cultivation. Though highly esteemed, it does not seem to be preferred to pulax to any such extent as on high islands, where pulax may be considered fit only for areas where nothing better will grow. Young leaves of wot, tenderer than those of pulax and file, are chopped up, stripped of their ribs and cooked for greens.

During the war many Woleai people came to Ifaluk because the Japanese were using Woleai for an airfield, which not only crowded the natives but subjected them to American bombing. Our interpreter put the number who came to Ifaluk at 375. Even if we discount liberally--for his figures could never be trusted--it seems likely that the population of Ifaluk was at least doubled then, rather suddenly. Tom assured us that there was plenty of taro for all, and plenty left over; and on information of that kind he was generally dependable.

The cultivation of taro (geligeli) is exclusively women's work. It is done either singly or in small groups, such as mother and daughter. Clearing ground to prepare a new patch for planting would require more labor. Presumably, men would be called in for this; but as there is more land in taro than can be used, new patches are hardly ever cleared nowadays.

After planting, the main task is to cut and pull the weeds which threaten to choke out the small plants. A creeping grass whose roots run underground (buyol; Lepturus repens) seems to be the most troublesome. This is where wot needs more care; because it is smaller, for one thing. In places pulax grows eight feet high or more, and the plants crowd so thickly together that one walks under them in twilight. There the weeds are effectively shaded out.

The weeds pulled are usually converted at once into green manure or compost by burying them between the rows of taro. Lagajorang, who gave us a demonstration of the wot planting, first dug a pit about 10 feet long, 3 feet wide and 2 feet deep. This she did in a surprisingly short time, working with her bare hands in the soft muck. Then she pulled grass and weeds along a neighboring row, laid this in the pit, and covered it over. Finally she brought young wot plants, about a foot long (baulax) from a patch nearby, where they had sprung up from suckers around a parent plant. These she stuck into the bed just prepared, pressing the earth well down and leaving a slight depression about each plant, presumably to hold water.

A working day in the taro patch lasts from soon after daybreak until about noon. If a woman gets thirsty at her work, she may pause to drink a coconut; but must leave the taro patch to do it. If she were to drink on the patch, the plants would not grow.

The women are perfectly aware of the fertilizing effect of burying weeds under the plants. This, with an idealized view of a gardener's enthusiasm for her work, comes out in one of their songs:

Lovemaking would keep me from my garden. I like to go there every day. I don't like to waste time sleeping; I like to see my taro grow tall. I heap earth around the wot plants, Bury leaves all about the wot, To make it grow faster.

Out of just three ingredients—taro, coconut cream, and fresh coconut toddy—the women prepare a considerable variety of dishes. Those that follow were noted down from gifts brought to us, and do not exhaust the resources of native cookery:

arongiumat--mashed taro with raw coconut cream.
aronguvis--whole taro cooked in coconut cream.
maigogo--mashed taro, cooked in coconut cream long enough to form a brown crust.

malegefale (pulax vauvau)--big pieces, soaked for a long time in toddy before cooking. (These seem to be two names for the same preparation; at any rate, if there is a difference, it was not noted.)

pelopel--mashed taro, cooked with coconut cream, put in a bowl and moulded in little square mounds, the hollows between these filled by pouring in toddy.

shewoshu--taro mashed, mixed with coconut cream and toddy, cooked long so that a brown crust forms on top.

(name not learned)--taro cut in small pieces and cooked in coconut cream without mashing. Varieties of rather open texture, among them <u>pulax i sali</u> and <u>annIpenni</u>, lend themselves better to this preparation than the gummier kinds favored for the preceding one.

(name not learned) -- taro mashed and cooked with cream and grated coconut meat.

Wot is prepared differently from other kinds of taro. It is placed directly on the fire, and is removed after much charcoal has formed. It is then ground fine, grated coconut meat is ground in with it, after which ground leaves of the warung and angorIk plants are mixed in.

Other Food Plants

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Though bananas (wir) bear well, and the fruit of some of the varieties seemed to us of excellent quality, the people have a rather low opinion of them as food. They are sometimes eaten, either raw or cooked; but do not compare in importance with breadfruit or taro.

The number of other plants used for food is considerable, but none of them, nor even all taken together, make up an important part of the diet. Arrowroot (mogmog; Tacca leontopetaloides) grows wild under the breadfruit trees. The people know how to make starch (mwisi) out of the roots but rarely take the trouble to do so. We never saw the process or any of the product. Sugar cane (wou; Saccharum officinarum) is planted on or near house platforms. Children, and more rarely adults, enjoy chewing a piece of the stalk. But one or two clumps are enough for a household.

A plant said to become important in case of famine following a hurricane is gop (Portulaca samoensis). The tiny succulent leaves are washed in sea water, then boiled in fresh water, then crushed with the coral pounder and mixed with coconut cream.

Several plants of European introduction are grown to some extent: squash (a summer squash or marrow), papaia, pineapple. The squash and papaya plants are common, but bear little fruit, and that of miserable quality. Pineapples are very scarce. I cannot recall seeing a plant on the island, but we were offered one fruit, quite a good one.

Fruits of several native trees are eaten, but not especially prized. Those named to me were avus (Crataeva speciosa) and song (Bruguiera conjugata). The nuts of kazas (Terminalia catappa?) are enjoyed by small boys enough to induce them to crush the thick, fibrous hulls.

Young leaves from the tips of the branches of a full-sized tree, the <u>aroma</u> (<u>Pipturus argenteus</u>) are said to make edible greens if boiled, mashed, and mixed with toddy and coconut cream.

Pandanus fruit is not eaten on Ifaluk.

Fiber Plants

Though the fruit of bananas is not esteemed, the fiber of the trunk is in great demand for weaving native cloth. Women remove the green outer layer, then peel off in thin strips the fiber of which most of the trunk is composed. They hang it in the sun for two or three days, soak it in salt water for four or five days, then hang it out again for a period that varies from five to ten days, depending on the sunshine. Then they split it to the width desired. Most of the cloths ran between 20 and 30 wefts to the inch. The fibers are not spun, but woven flat.

The bast of hau (gilivo; Hibiscus tiliaceus) is also used for weaving, but is considered inferior to banana fiber. Of the many uses to which this species of hibiscus is put elsewhere in the Pacific, the only ones customary on Ifaluk are for weaving and formerly, we were told, for fishing lines. The plant is not abundant and does not grow to great size, perhaps because the women cut most of the shoots young. To prepare the bast for weaving, they scrape off the outer bark and soak the sticks in salt water, weighted down with coral, for four days. Then they strip off the bast, hang it in the sun to bleach and dry, and split it into wefts, most of them a little coarser than those of banana fiber. They are said to be good for women's skirts, but too stiff for men's loin cloths.

Whether banana or hibiscus is used for weaving, some of the fibers are first soaked in dye. Nearly all the dye in use in 1947-48 had been bought from the Japanese. Two native dyes are still remembered, though now rarely or never used. One is a black, obtained from a porous, floating mineral that sometimes drifts to Ifaluk. It is ground into water by rubbing on a piece of iron. The other native dye is a red, made by mixing coral lime and <u>lel</u> bark in water. Turmeric paint, though not used to dye fibers before weaving, may be rubbed over finished cloth.

The first step in weaving is to set up the warp. This is done on a set of seven pegs stuck in holes on a board about 3 feet long. The pegs project from the board about 8 inches. The order in which fibers of different colors are wound on the pegs determines the succession of longitudinal stripes in the cloth, and the number of turns taken of each color determines the width of each stripe. On every other turn a short separate piece of fiber is passed about the warp and then tied in a small loop or leash around one of the pegs. This procedure is shown in Fig. 2.

The warp thus prepared is then transferred to the loom. The construction of this is shown in Fig. 3.

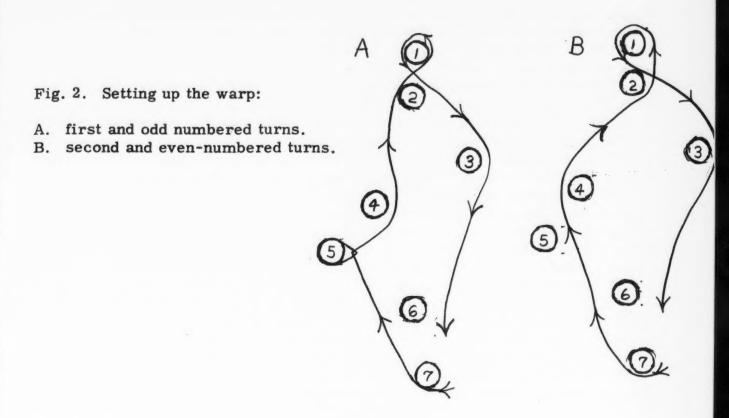


Fig. 3. Diagram showing construction of loom:

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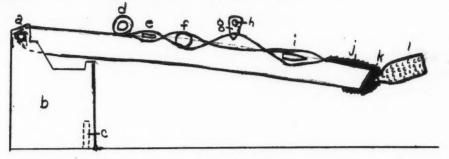
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a, warp beam; b, frame (wijalo); c, baseboard (pap), used as brace for weaver's feet; d, round laze rod (ulut); e, flat laze rod (tiwe); f, shed stick (tepang); g, leash; h, heddle rod (ngeng); i, sword (apop); j, finished fabric; k, cloth beam; l, belt (tali).

The weaver sits facing the frame, with her feet braced against it. She fastens the belt about her back, and by leaning back on it keeps the warp taut. The weft is wound on a shuttle shaped like the netting-needles used in making seines. Successive weft fibers are pressed together with a sword. Fringes are left at each end of the piece of cloth. The weaving is entirely in simple

check, and the only color patterns woven in are longitudinal stripes. Transverse borders are often embroidered with a needle near each end. The patterns on these include checks, triangles, diamonds, zigzag, lines, herringbone stripes, and a variety of other rectilinear figures.

Leaves of the variety of pandanus called far en Nuta, cured but not bleached, are used for sails. Matting for sails is plaited in strips about a foot wide. These are sewed together with sinnet cord, using stitches several inches long. Seams are run both vertically and horizontally. The advantage of making the sail in strips is that it usually limits tearing to one strip. Thus a torn place can be repaired by replacing a single strip of matting.

Sleeping mats are plaited from the leaves of the kind of pandanus which is called simply by the generic name <u>far</u>. The leaves are first laid out in the sun until thoroughly dry. They may then either be used as they are, or bleached by soaking in salt water, rinsing in fresh water, and sunning again.

The leaves are split to the desired width by pulling between the fibers a small loop of coconut leaf midrib attached to the right index finger. These strips are then plaited in simple check. The technique gives the mat a double thickness. Mats of plain color, the light brown of the unbleached leaf, are called faulap. The wefts used for this are about 3/8" wide. The other kind, the most prized, is called giegie. The name emphasizes their whiteness, as shown by the fact that giegie is also the name for the snowy-white fairytern. Giegie mats are made largely of sun-bleached leaf; but some wefts of un-bleached brown leaf are commonly introduced to make simple, rather widely spaced plaid designs. The wefts of giegie are somewhat narrower than those of faulap. Those observed varied from about 1/4" to 1/8", averaging about 3/16". A small strip of matting of this kind is shown in Damm's Plate 2, No. 60.

Bleached pandanus leaf is also used for the smallest and finest baskets, in which men keep their flint-and-steel or tobacco. These average less than six inches in their longest dimension. One collected is 4 1/2" X 1 1/2" X 1". They are plaited in check over wooden blocks that serve as forms. They are made in several shapes. One, like a little pouch, is called geigas; another, a miniature box with fitted cover, sigurar. Damm (Plates 1, 2) shows one of these; also several larger pandanus baskets. The plaiting is similar, but in one the rim is bound with a fine cord, presumably of sinnet, while two have long braided handles. Such large pandanus baskets are not common now on Ifaluk. The only one seen was given to Spiro as a farewell present.

The huge glossy leaves of the variety of pandanus called <u>pogu</u> are said to be worthless for plaiting. They are used only to tie about the trunks of coconut trees, making a band whose slippery surface is said to keep rats from climbing the trees and eating the young nuts. This device is little used on Ifaluk. No bands of <u>pogu</u> were seen there, though the practise is referred to in a song. But a walk about Satawan during our few hours ashore there revealed many trees with these pandanus bands about them.

Either far or far en Nutamay be used for hats of flaring conical shape, which are sometimes used by men while fishing. These are called trelivar. Another name, parong, is used only among men. It refers to the under side of the penis, where the edge of the glans has an outline resembling the shape of these hats. A light hoop of gabwi wood forms the rim. To this are attached strips of coconut leaflet midrib which form ribs. They are gathered together in a point at the top. Pandanus leaves, whole except for trimmed edges, are laid vertically over this frame, overlapping and sewed on with horizontal seams of fine sennit cord. A band of the leaf, finely plaited like one of the small baskets, holds the leaves together at the top.

Pandanus trunks, like those of coconut, have an outer shell of very hard wood and a comparatively pithy interior. This tubular structure may make them strong for their weight; at any rate, they are favored for certain house timbers where both strength and lightness are wanted, such as king-posts and supports for the overhanging rounded end of roofs. Strips cut from the hard shell alone are put to a few uses for which thickness is not required, a-for example, slats to form the floor of canoe platforms. To judge by this use, pandanus wood will stand salt water better than that of coconut.

The fragrant petals of the pandanus flower, fastened together so that their pointed ends project like a crown, form a particularly effective garland for the head.

Other Timber Trees

Names of timber trees other than coconut, breadfruit and pandanus, with notes on their uses follow:

- aro--Straight shoots used for palings on house walls, or slats on canoe platforms; saplings used for canoe poles; large trunks for house posts.
- gaingei--Proverbially strong. Used for some of the small pieces of canoe outrigger attachment. A favorite for levers, poles, walking sticks.
- kelau, kalua--First choice for house posts. Said to be very durable in the ground.
- <u>kili</u>--A small tree. The tough wood is used for canoe paddles and smaller house timbers.
- lel--House timber.

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- mog -- House timber.
- rages -- (Also called sevang and vitou). Canoe end-posts and outrigger booms. sol--House timber.
- <u>treli</u>--A hard wood with various uses; its forks favored for the forked sticks attaching outrigger floats to booms.
- wutu--House timber.
- tria--Hard, straight-grained wood used to make men's combs.

Medicines and Drugs

The following list of plants used for medicine was obtained during the general survey of plants and their uses. Many remedies are hereditary secrets, so the list is certainly not complete. However, as will appear in the list of rituals seen, the main emphasis in healing is not on herbal remedies, but on getting supernatural help.

- angorIk--Aromatic herb, put in medicine ritually prepared, blessed by the gods, and drunk as a preventive. Also considered healthful in drinking water for babies.
- aro--A green leafy branch is waved over the medicine as part of the ritual, dipped in the bowl, and used to sprinkle those who are taking part.
- bwogorewau--An aromatic sedge that grows in the taro swamp. Said to be very good for the stomach, if taken in coconut juice. Used in babies drinking water.
- korax--Herb. Used medicinally; no details obtained.
- <u>livalus</u>--Tree. Bark scraped, put in coconut fabric, strained into water for babies to drink.
- olu--Leaves wrapped in coconut fabric and soaked in water, which is then drunk to help stomach trouble and loss of appetite.
- sol--Some men know (informant did not) how to make a medicine from this tree to cure a red eruption on the skin.
- song--Bark scraped, put in coconut fabric and strained into water for babies to drink.
- ualomax -- A vine. Infusion of leaves drunk for stomach.

Two kinds of pepper plant (gabwi) grow on the island. One of them is said to be the right kind (piper betle) to chew with betel nut. There are a very few, perhaps a half dozen, small betel palms (Areca catechu) on the island. But chewing betel is not a local custom. The other kind of pepper is not used as a drug, so far as is known.

The natives are fond, perhaps overfond, of tobacco. A few plants are coaxed up through the coral gravel on house platforms, but nearly all the tobacco is imported. Even neighboring atolls, as Faraulep and Ngulu, export "Caroline smoke" to Ifaluk.

Perfume and Color

Both men and women, but especially men, are fond of wearing flowers on the head, about the neck, or in the hole in the lobe of the ear. A few kinds, such as the red hibiscus, are worn for color only; but fragrance seems to be even more prized.

- angorIk--(turmeric) The crushed leaves are rubbed on the skin, hung in the ear-hole, or worn wherever they will hang. Especially fragrant when partly dried. One of the plants beloved of the gods, which grows in the sky as well as on earth.
- aro--This tree, whose leafy branches are used in ritual, has also a fragrant flower.
- atogobwei--A vine. Lovers are said to rub the leaves on their necks to sweeten their embraces.
- Fléros -- (Red hibiscus) For color only.
- gióp--(Spider lily) For form, color, and fragrance.
- guruguru--Herb with aromatic root,

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- Kerrio--Bush with clusters of small flowers used in garlands.
- ragues -- (also called geval and sevang) Fragrant flower.
- remag--(also called natu) Flowers worn in hair, or used for garlands.
- seuru--(Plumeria) For color as well as fragrance.
- waryng--An herb with aromatic leaves, grown on house platforms. The gods grow this in the sky.
- wutu--The long-tubed white flowers of this tree are prized for their fragrance.

 This, too, grows in the sky.

Miscellaneous Uses of Plants

Leaves of two ferns are used for the scanty covering which young girls tuck under their belts before and behind. One of these, <u>riri</u>, is especially common about the base of coconut trees, and among the moss that covers some of their aerial roots. It is worn green. The other, <u>enenux</u>, a bird's-nest fern, is cured in the sun before wearing.

Root fibers of two plants are used for fish lures. The root of the guan, after the outer layer is removed, is soaked in salt water, bleached in the sun, then split into narrow strips, which are tied to the shank of a fish hook. This lure, called <u>uelueliop</u>, gleams in the water and is said to be very effective. The white fiber of a bunch grass or sedge called <u>bogo li le pa</u> is used in the same way.

The inner bark of the <u>aroma</u> tree is said to be so tough that fish can not bite through it. After being dried in the sun, it is sometimes attached to a hook as a leader.

The aerial roots of the giliao, a banyan, are sometimes used for preliminary lashing on a canoe, before the permanent lashing of sennit cord is put on.

A dried moss is sometimes laid between the planks of a canoe. It is said to decrease leaking. This was not done, however, in any of several canoes built during our stay on the island.

The following plants were dismissed as weeds ("blong nothing"): atiIt -- A small herb.

<u>buyol</u>--The creeping grass which is the great pest of the taro swamp.

<u>kamarag</u>--Staghorn fern, apt to overrun the ground under the breadfruit trees.

<u>Keisis</u>--also <u>kevakual</u>. Small herbs.

<u>talingilipat</u>--mushroom or fungus--"Many kinds, one name."

House Building

Dwellings are built on Ifaluk almost exclusively for shelter. They are hardly valued at all as works of art or means of displaying the prosperity of their owners. Consequently the only requirements for an ordinary house are a roof and walls that will keep out sun and rain, and a frame that will withstand a strong wind.

As befits the strictly utilitarian character of the craft, the position of house-carpenter is not especially honored. There is no formal, restricted lore of house-building, as there is of canoe-building, navigation, and tattooing. No myth was collected attributing the origin of this craft to the gods, though there are such myths for all three other crafts. Three songs were collected in praise of shipwrights; none in praise of house carpenters.

The term for master-craftsman, sennap, may be applied to builders of dwellings (sennap a l'im) and experts in repairing public buildings (sennap a li gasu van or sennap a li gatchu li fal). But there seems to be some doubt about who deserves these titles. Tom once said there were recognized master-builders; but later, when asked to name them, contradicted his previous statement. 'Everybody savvy', he explained. When the same question was put to the chief, Maroligar, he gave three names; then added 'I think, Totogoeiti (Tom's native name); and finally, when pressed-for he supervised repairs on public buildings in Rauau--admitted he was one himself. After further consideration, he said that three--Toroman, Maroligar and Totogoeiti --were big experts. Three others--Wolpetau, GauaisIg, Arovalimen--were less advanced. If Tom contradicted himself, Maroligar at least wavered.

In practise, building an ordinary dwelling is a household undertaking, which any adult man may supervise. Building a canoe-house or men's house must be quite a rare event. None was put up during our stay, nor, so far as I learned, in the memory of anyone living. Several times particular timbers, which broke or were thought to be in danger of breaking, were replaced. In that way a building can be made to last indefinitely.

The indifference to house-building, as compared with other crafts, seems to reflect degeneration. Sarfert noticed in 1909 that painted decorations were to be found on only a few old house timbers, and inferred that houses had once been more elaborately decorated than they were at the time of his visit. The process has gone further since then. The rectilinear designs he found on a few timbers are not to be seen anywhere in Ifaluk now, though something of the kind was noticed on the front of a shrine or god-house on Lamotrek.

More striking is the almost complete disappearance of what Damm, from Sarfert's notes, describes as the old type of house. It has squared timbers,

which fit into each other and form a frame for panelled walls. To be sure, the account is somewhat confused; for instance, no names are given to correspond to some of the house parts numbered in a sketch, apparently redrawn from one by Sarfert. Yet some names of parts are given that differ from any I collected. Any gaps in detail do not obscure the general plan of the house, which seems to have been drawn from something Sarfert saw, not merely from something he was told of. The only building at all like it in 1947-48 was one of two occupied by Tom. Most of its timbers were of foreign sawed lumber. Walls of several buildings, including the men's house, were of lattice work, others of upright palings fitted into heavier beams. But the beams were unsquared logs, and the holes bored with foreign augers. In a few houses, however, the stringers are squared, as in Damm's 'old type'.

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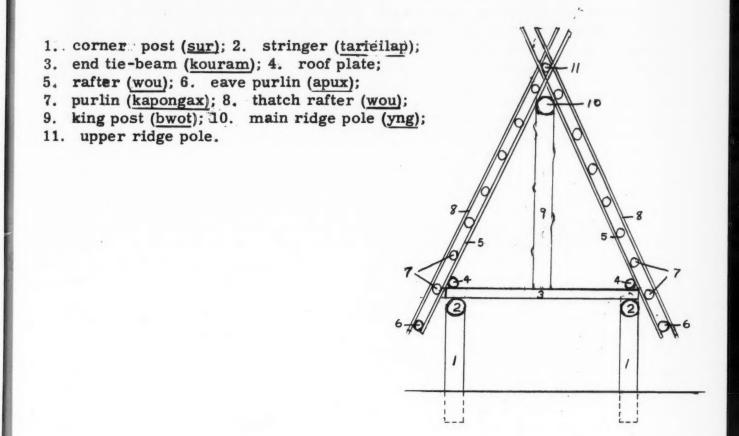


Fig. 4. Construction of Ifaluk dwelling (im) or canoe-house (fan ni wa); end elevation.

It seems probable that houses of hewn and fitted timbers were once more common than they are now. Yet timber can never have been abundant enough

to make many of them. Most of the houses must always have been of a simpler type, presumably like the one that prevails now. Its structure is diagrammed in Fig. 4.

The construction of the men's house (fan nap) is shown in Fig. 5. It has several distinctive features. The ridge-pole is supported, not by a king post resting on a tie-beam, but by a row of middle posts. The two posts under the ends of the ridge-pole are squared, and the one under the front end is decorated with paintings and a phallic carving. The corner posts are slabs of beach sandstone. The gable ends are filled by vertical walls extending from the peak to the height of the eaves. These walls are covered with coconut leaf, applied in a different way from the thatch of a roof. The lower ends of the leaves are bound in with wooden battens, producing a flat, smooth surface, instead of the shaggy one of a thatched roof, in which the lower ends of the leaves hang free.

The most ingenious feature of construction, particularly in canoe-houses, is the rounded gable. A ridged roof, thatched only on two sides, is not enough to provide shelter in a wet country. Something must be done to keep rain from entering at the ends, when the wind blows in. The solution traditional in Ifaluk is, first, to extend the ridge-pole at both ends, and slant the end rafters out

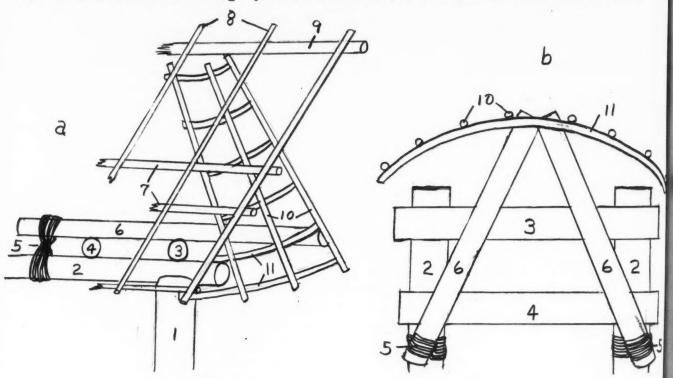


Fig. 5. Support of overhanging, rounded gable in canoe-house.

- a. side elevation; b. plan. 1. corner posts; 2. stringer; 3. end tie beam;
- 4. tie beam (auten ni lalo); 5. lashing; 6. gable support (tibweli); 7. purlins;
- 8. rafters; 9. ridge pole; 10. gable rafters; 11. curved gable purlins.

to the ends of the ridge-pole, so that the peak of the roof overhangs; second, to build rounded extensions under the peak at both ends. These, covered with thatch, give the ends of the building as good protection from rain as the long sides. (Fig. 5)

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In a cook-shed or dwelling, the rounded end is supported by one or two small posts; commonly one in a cook-shed, two in a dwelling. In the most carefully built dwellings, in which the stringers are hewn square (and in that case called goragu), the purlins under the rounded ends are also squared, and fitted to the stringers with overlapping joints.

In a canoe-house, however, the ends cannot be obstructed with posts, for that would prevent carrying canoes in and out. The manner in which the rounded gable is suspended, without supporting posts, is shown in Fig. 5. In the first place, the whole structure is lightly built. The eave purlins are not squared beams, but light, flexible withes. Purlins and rafters of the rounded end are lashed to purlins and rafters of the long sides, which take up some of the weight. The rest is supported on two beams (numbered 6 in the figure). Their projecting ends converge under one of the purlins of the rounded extension. Their inner portions rest on tie beams, and the inner ends are fastened by a lashing of stout rope to the stringers below them. This lashing is not very massive, and apparently carries no great weight. It will be seen that both the extension of the peak of the roof, and the suspension of the gable on overhanging beams, involve application, though not in a very bold form, of the principle of the cantilever.

Cook-sheds and canoe-houses have no walls, but dwellings are almost completely walled in by panels of coconut leaf, plaited in twill. These can be unfastened and slid aside, making a door wherever one is wanted. They are called gili. The same name is used for the smaller of two sizes of sitting mat made to spread on the coral gravel of the floors. These gili are plaited from two halves of a leaf in the same way as thatch sheets. But the leaf is cured, the leaflets doubled before plaiting, and the plaiting carried nearly to their tips, then finished off in a braid. A wider floor-mat, called topoxau, is made more like a ridge sheet; but the two split halves are laid with their bits of midrib in the middle, and the two sides are finished with braids.

As already noted in enumerating the uses of coconut, the roofs of all buildings are covered with coconut-leaf thatch. This is not so durable as thatch of the leaves of pandanus, sugar-cane, or sago, all of which are used on native houses in some Pacific islands. But there is no sago on Ifaluk, and not enough pandanus or sugar-cane to go around. When thatch of coconut-leaf begins to leak it can be replaced fairly easily.

To make thatch (aso) each leaf is split down the middle. Each half of the midrib is trimmed to lighten it. The two halves are laid together, with the half-midribs on the same side, and the leaflets plaited in simple check for about half their length. The thatch sheets so made are laid out in the sun for three or four days to begin drying, before they are put on. Some are more

thoroughly sun-cured and are then called <u>aso gili</u>. In thatching a roof, the sheets are tied to the rafters, beginning at the eaves and working upwards. The lower side of each sheet hangs free, overlapping the sheet below. Special sheets are made for the ridge by using one leaf unsplit, and plaiting the halves of a split leaf on each side of it, with their half-midribs outward. This makes a ridge-sheet with a whole midrib along the middle, and a half-midrib along each edge.

Damm, in his account based on Sarfert's notes, attributes the introduction of men's houses on Ifaluk to Fagil, a man from Yap. Fagil is said to have been shipwrecked on Ifaluk during the regime of Dibodan or Dibodau (recorded by me as Tipateu). On the list of chiefs he is only four earlier than Daoreligar, who was in power when Sarfert visited Ifaluk in 1909. This would make men's houses a fairly recent innovation.

No story of Fagil was told to us in 1947-48. But recent introduction of men's houses is contradicted by several points in the legends we collected. The house <u>Ilamai</u> or <u>Iramai</u>, which Damm gives as the dwelling built by Modj(recorded by me as Maur), was described to us as the men's house on Falalap in Maur's time. Though there is no longer a men's house on that island, the site of Iramai is still pointed out. Maur is also said to have made use of the men's house Katelu on Falarik. The site of the ancient Katelu was just inland from the present men's house, also called by that name. A general point that seems to corroborate the ascription of antiquity to men's houses is the fact that they are characteristic of the culture of the western Carolines as a whole. Their absence on Ifaluk would be anomalous.

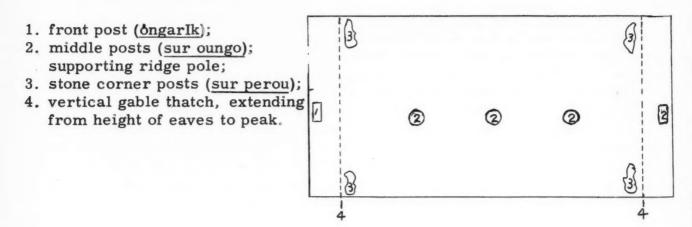


Fig. 6. Plan of men's house (fan nap).

If only the type of construction peculiar to men's houses, with middle posts and stone corner posts, were attributed to Fagil, the discrepancy would disappear.

Damm's story adds that the men's houses built by Fagil were on stone piers projecting into the lagoon. Such stone piers still exist on Ifaluk. The men's house is not built on one of them, nor was it in Sarfert's day. He was told that a house on one of the piers had been destroyed in the typhoon of 1907. Rather flimsy houses stood on piers on Falarik and Falalap when we arrived. One was destroyed and the other partly so in the hardest blow during our stay. The two piers in Rauau district had no houses in 1947-48, but were said to have had them at some previous time.

Although no large buildings were constructed during our stay, techniques of lifting massive timbers into position were exemplified by replacement of beams in two canoe-houses. In October a huge breadfruit log, more than two feet in diameter and sawed through at one end, drifted ashore from parts unknown. Such gifts of the sea are the main source of supply for corner-posts of the canoe-houses. It was decided to use this one to replace a rotting post in the canoe-house called Fale Penga.

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First the log was rolled ashore. Poles or light logs were thrust under it on the landward side to serve as skids. Similar posts were used on the seaward side as levers.

The hole in which the old post stood was now widened by digging on the outer side. Temporary supports for the roof at this corner were lashed together and put in position. The type of support used is shown in Fig. 7, a. At first the upper ends of the two pairs of uprights slanted toward each other at a considerable angle, greater than that shown in the sketch.

A double lever (Fig. 7, b) was now made of coconut logs to hoist the roof. There was room enough for more than a dozen men to work on it at a time. Their efforts were coordinated by a responsive song or chantey. As the sketch shows, the lift was transmitted to the stringer of the house through a crosspiece and upright post.

The height gained by each lift of the lever was secured by moving the lower ends of the supports toward each other, making the uprights more nearly vertical. The crosspieces at the base, to prevent them from slipping out again, were then repegged in the new position. With the supports in position to take the weight of the roof, the lever was released and made ready for another lift by moving the fulcrum a little nearer the raising end. When the roof was high enough to give the necessary clearance to the corner posts, the supports were pegged in a final, nearly vertical position. They were then supplemented by a log cut to just the right length and set upright under the stringer a little in from the supports.

With the roof securely out of the way, the post to be replaced was removed. A heavy line, made up of six strands of the large size of sennit rope used for mooring canoes, was fastened around its upper end. A fairly light pull on this was enough to topple the upper end of the post out from under the roof, so that its outer side rested against the side of the hole. It was then taken out of the hole by hauling on the line. This was the stage of the job requiring the greatest

application of power. The haul on the line was supplemented by prying on levers thrust under the inside of the post (Fig. 7, c). At one time 39 men were hauling on the line. At the crucial moment some of the women, who had been looking on and encouraging the workers, took a hand themselves. To prevent the post from slipping back while the workers paused for breath, the line was snubbed around two trees, passing from left to right around one of them, from right to left around the other (Fig. 7, d).

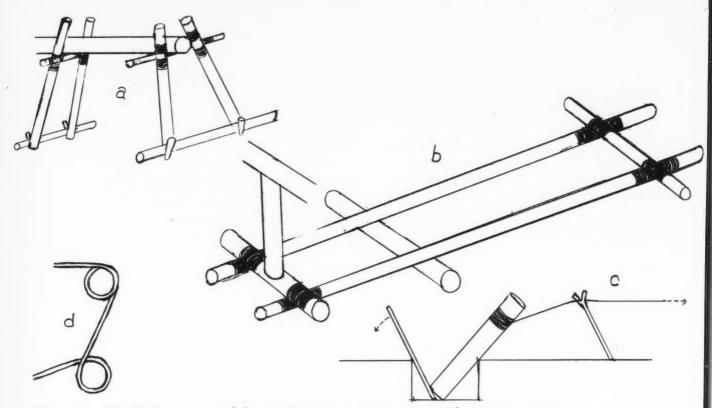


Fig. 7. Techniques used in replacing corner post of a canoe-house.

a. temporary supports of the stringer. (The rest of the roof, supported by the stringer, is not shown.) b. double lever for raising the roof from the corner post. c. removing the corner post by means of hauling line and levers. d. hauling line snubbed around two trees.

The new post, it now appeared, was a little longer than the old one. The hole for it was dug deeper, an easier task than cutting through the massive post again with axes and hand saws. As the hole was deepened, it began to fill with water. The prospect of the water rotting the post at the bottom did not disturb anyone. When the hole had reached the necessary depth, one end of the new post was hauled into position over the hole. The other end was raised by the same techniques of prying on levers and hauling on a line that

had served to remove the old one. The bottom of the post slid into the hole. It was then carefully lowered into the same position the old one had occupied. By holding the roof with the big lever while the bases of the supports were spread apart, a little at a time, the roof was gradually lowered back into position. The hole about the post was filled in and tamped. The temporary supports were removed, and the task was finished.

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The whole process made nearly a full day's work for all the available men of Rauau district. It was done in the afternoon of one day and the morning of the next. Men were coming and going every now and then, so no one figure would give the number of workers accurately. The largest number actually busy at any one moment would be the 39 counted hauling on the line, plus three or four more with levers.

Another repair job, requiring somewhat different techniques, became necessary in December, when the stringer that held up one side of the canoe-house Sabwolap broke in two. Coconut logs, the only timber available for these long stringers, are not well adapted to the purpose. As their centers are rather pithy, the lateral stress imposed by the weight of the roof must be taken mostly by the thin shell of hard wood on the outside. Squared beams of a solider wood form the stringers of the men's house; but there are not enough logs of the necessary length to supply these for the canoe-houses.

In order to take out the broken stringer and replace it with another coconut log, it was necessary to raise one whole side of the roof. Accordingly, a row of temporary supports was required, instead of the pair that had sufficed for the corner-post replacement. But they were of lighter construction: pairs of light logs, crossed like an X, and held together with lashing at the top middle, and bottom (Fig. 8, a). Light logs, lashed under the rafters to take the weight of the roof while the stringer was being replaced, rested in the upper lashing of the X supports. The lower lashings helped to prevent spreading and settling. They were reinforced by pegs driven in at the base.

The roof was lifted, bit by bit, by means of a lever of coconut log. Since only part of the roof was raised at a time, a single log served for a lever, instead of a pair used on the corner-post job. The vertical post that transmitted the thrust of the lever to the roof rested at the bottom in a notch cut in this log. At the top it was lashed under one of the logs that temporarily supported the roof. The height gained by each lift was taken up by narrowing each of the X supports, tightening their lashings, and shifting the pegs (Fig. 8, b). Elderly men and boys worked on the supports, while young men at the height of their strength worked on the lever. Getting the roof tilted to the necessary height, by many repetitions of this process, took about half a day.

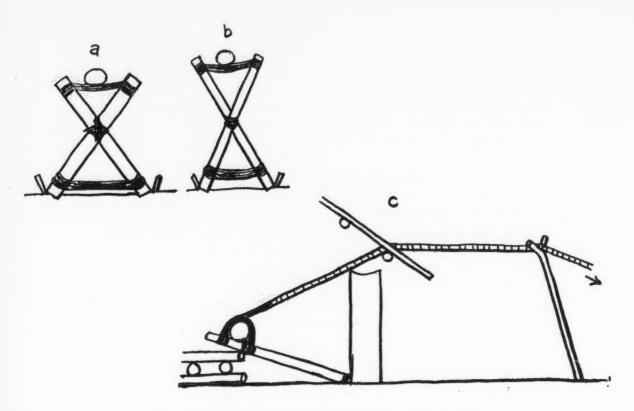


Fig. 8. Techniques used in replacing stringer of a canoe-house.

- a. X-support, of light logs, sennit lashing, and pegs.
- b. X-support narrowed to gain height as roof is lifted.
- c. method of lifting stringer into position on top of corner post.

The new stringer was now lifted into position. First each end of it was lifted upon a post, which leaned against a pile of crossed logs about waist high (Fig. 8, c). Then the ends were lashed to these posts at the point which would bring the new stringer into position on top of the corner-posts when the supporting posts were vertical. Long, stout lines were attached at each end. The log was now raised into position, with all available men hauling on the lines. At first a few lifted by hand on the ends of the log. At the hardest part of the pull, women, too, took a hand on the lines.

By releasing the lashings gradually, the new stringer was settled into position on the corner posts. Then the roof was let down on it gradually by reversing the process used to lift it; that is, it was held with the lever while the X supports were widened, then let down into the new position.

The stress of tilting and lowering the roof was too much for a tiebeam that supported one of the king-posts. It broke just as the roof was being settled into place. Apparently this piece of hard luck was not altogether unexpected; at least the men took it with good-natured resignation. Another lifting and lowering job was now required in order to replace the tie-beam.

Canoe Building

A canoe, of all material possessions, brings most glory to its owner. And the building of canoes is beyond comparison the most highly developed craft in Ifaluk. Anybody can build a little one; but the construction of that masterpiece of Micronesian workmanship, a sea-going sailing canoe, requires the permission of the chiefs, and is entrusted only to recognized experts (sennap), who have learned their art by something like apprenticeship from another expert. During our stay, seven men were recognized as master-ship-wrights. The honor accorded this title is exceeded by only two others: that of hereditary chief, and that of navigator (palū), who can pilot one of these canoes to other islands.

Ifaluk is said to be better supplied with canoes than any of the neighboring islands. The total number on the island in January, 1948. (not counting hulks considered no longer seaworthy), was 91, or one for every 2.7 persons in the population; surely a remarkable showing for a place that has so little large timber. Three sizes are recognized: large sailing canoes with platforms (wā verugIt, 'big canoe'); canoes of medium size with several thwarts for paddlers (wā fatóle. 'paddle canoe'), and canoes with only a single seat on the outrigger booms (rosemāni). Of the total of 91, 23 were sailing canoes, 21 medium-size paddling canoes, and 47 small rosemāni. * Sarfert recorded a different classification: wā ii wuei, a large sailing canoe; manuwili, smaller sailing canoe for fishing; kafadule, paddling canoe for 4-5 men; djasemali (equivalent to rosemāni in his orthography), paddling canoe for 1 or 2; and fofat, raft, a term I also collected.

Sailing canoes and large paddling canoes are given the names of tracts of land. Sarfert recorded an additional point, that these are the tracts on which grew the breadfruit tree that furnished the timber for the boat. Though I was not told this in detail, it fits what was told. The name of the sailing canoe built for Tom during our stay is Melegubwol. after the breadfruit grove just inland from the canoe-house where the vessel was built. Asked whether these names are supposed to have power to bring a canoe safe home from overseas, Tom said they are. Although he was sometimes over-eager to give an affirmative answer, this one is supported by a similar idea in a prayer, intoned to the god Soupalele when a canoe is casting off for an over-seas voyage:

^{*} The spelling of this word follows the attempt at phonemic orthography discussed in Appendix I. The commonest pronunciation is trojeman.

Lay the anchor in the woods!

Lay the anchor in the woods,

O Soupalele!

Put my anchor in a huge tree in the interior!

Right in the middle,

The very middle of the land.

When my canoe goes,

Let me return to this land!

In construction of hull and attachment of outrigger, canoes of all sizes are essentially alike. The small rosemani have no thwarts except for the inboard portions of the two booms, while larger canoes have additional thwarts nearer each end. All canoes carry paddles (fatole) and wooden scoop-shaped bailers (mat). Paddling canoes are poled in shallow water. When not in use, the poles are laid over the booms just outside the hull, and kept in place by sennit loops (taninga ni meinin) near each end. Wooden trays (tarong) rest on the booms just outside the hull, and are attached by lashing. They are used to carry small articles, which are more likely to stay dry there than inside the hull. In sailing canoes, these are replaced by large platforms (Fig. 11, 12), not only on the outrigger side but on the lee side as well.

Large canoes conform in every respect but one to the "flying proa" type described by Haddon and Hornell in "Canoes of Oceania" as characteristic of the western Carolines. Characteristics of that type which are present in Ifaluk canoes are:

Triangular outrigger platform

Lee platform on the side opposite the outrigger

Forked heads at the top of both end-posts

Two outrigger booms, curving downward

Outrigger float attached to booms by crutch-shaped

Y connectives and cord brace made up of

multiple lashing. (A difference here is that

in Ifaluk the connectives are not pointed

and driven into the float, but flat-ended,

and carefully fitted to press against it.

These connectives take only stresses that

push the float toward the booms. Stresses that

pull float and booms apart are taken by

the cord brace.)

^{*} Throughout the following account, the terminology in English follows that of Haddon and Hornell.

The characteristic of the "flying proa" elsewhere which is not shared by Ifaluk canoes is asymmetry of the hull. In the classic "flying proa" type, Haddon and Hornell say, "one side, the weather or outrigger side, is more rounding or fuller than the lee side." As will appear in the account of drawing lines to guide the shaping of the hull, Ifaluk hulls are carefully made symmetrical, longitudinally and transversely.

Details of construction were recorded by Sarfert and Damm and, following them, by Haddon and Hornell. What additions can be made here will be given mostly in the accompanying figures. The following account will emphasize the process of building a canoe and its supernatural sanctions. The membership of the working parties, and the obligations which bring them to the job and keep them on it, will be discussed in the chapter on economics.

The fine point in construction of the hull is the drawing of lines to ensure its being hewn to a symmetrical shape. Tom said: "Suppose some man savvy chop, no savvy line; he no savvy carpenter." The origin of the lore of drawing lines is explained in the following myth. This is one of several versions of one of the most popular tales about the sky-dwellers. In this one the building of a new type of canoe is emphasized. What is the climax in two other versions (one collected by Spiro, the other embodied in a song) is omitted here-details of how Galet, by reawaking his wife's passion for him, induced her to follow him back home. All the characters are supernatural beings, though they behave much like human islanders.

How Seimeligarara Taught Canoe-building to Seilangi

Galet was very sad because he could not see his wife. He was living in the Men's House, while she, GanauliwIr, was in her mother's house. He did no work, staying inside his mosquito net. Food was brought to him there. GanauliwIr, too, stayed inside the mosquito net in her mother's house.

Then Virar came, and took GanauliwIr away with him to Ulimatau. Galet had two brothers, Wetreilok and Uterang. Wetreilok was the husband of Seramaliwok, sister of GanauliwIr.

Wëtreilok said to his wife, "I am going to talk to Galet. Then we will go bathing together. While we are in the water, you come past, dressed in your best clothes."

Seramaliwok made ready, putting on a new skirt, flowers in her hair, and red turmeric paint on her face and body.

Wetreilok went to the Men's House and called to Galet, who was asleep in his mosquito net.

"Wake up, Galet! Your wife is gone! Virar took her away!"
He persuaded Galet that the first thing to do was to go bathing.
While they were in the water, Seramaliwok came by in all her finery.
"Oh, look!" Galet cried. "There is the wife for me!"

"Never mind that one," Wetreilok replied. "She is my wife. But she is nothing compared to her sister. I mean GanauliwIr, the wife that Virar took away from you."

"Is GanauliwIr as beautiful as all that?"

"Indeed she is. "

The thought of losing such a beautiful woman made Galet furious. He blew his whistle, until people said, "What's the matter with Galet?" He took a stick and began to wreck the Men's House.

His father, the chief, tried to console him by summoning all the women, so that Galet might look them over and choose the one he liked best to be his new wife. When they came, there was one that Galet thought he liked very much.

But Wetreilok told him, "Oh, she is nothing like so beautiful as the

one you had before."

Galet broke out again in fury. He blew his whistle, took his stick, and began to wreck his father's house.

Then he decided to have a canoe made, so that he could go to Ulimatau and try to get his wife back. The work was in charge of Seimeligarara, who had studied the art of canoe-building with Seilangi and Wolfat. He made a canoe in the most approved style of the time. But Galet did not like it.

"What kind of canoe would you like?"

"Oh, I want something different."

Seimeligarara went to Seilangi and asked, "What kinds of canoes can you make?"

Seilangi said, "Only the one kind, like all those we have here." Well just you wait. I'm going to make something different."

So Seimeligarara went to work and made a canoe with a special kind of forked end (metaliwa). The fork had a wide, round opening instead of a pointed one. Moreover, he painted the inner curve of the fork white; the outer half, black, instead of making it black all over. When it was launched it looked very fine, and proved to be a fast sailer. Galet was greatly pleased with it.

Galet said, "Now I am going to Ulimatau to get my wife. Who is

going with me?"

His two brothers, Wetreilok and Uterang, went with him; also Wetreilok's wife, Seramailowok.

Galet took the sheet. Uterang went aft and took the wheel. Wetreilok went below and manned the pump.*

^{*} Tom said "wheel" and "pump", although in an Ifaluk canoe, to this day, steering is done by a steering paddle, and bailing by a wooden bailer.

Seramaliwok lay on the platform over the outrigger, under the pandanus shelter (gaimwemwe). Galet had had this rigged so that it opened toward the hull of the canoe instead of away from it, as is usual. This was so that he could look at Seramaliwok.





Fig. 9. Two types of forked head (metaliwa) for the ends of a canoe.

a. the type called kawalu, used on Ifaluk.

b. the type called popo, attributed to Seimeligarara.

During the voyage Galet flirted with Seramaliwok, and at last put his finger in her genitals.

Wetreilok, down in the hull, smelled the discharge, but went on working the pump. *

They reached Ulimatau and took down sail and mast.

Seramaliwok went ashore and found her sister, GanauliwIr, in the house of Virar.

"Where is your husband?"

"He is out in the bush, putting pandanus leaves around the trunks of the coconut trees so that the rats can't climb them and eat the young coconuts."

"I have come to take you with me."

"Where?"

"To see your old husband, and decide whether you like him best."

"All right. But the husband I have now is a wonderful man. There is no one like him."

"Still, you'd better come and see the old one again."

^{*} This bit of obscenity, which has nothing to do with the rest of the story, unless to emphasize Galet's passionate nature, seems to be introduced for humorous effect. I took it down solemnly, but found out later that a more acceptable response would have been uproarious laughter.

When GanauliwIr saw Galet, the husband she had deserted, she decided at once that she loved him best, and got in the canoe with him and went back to Ururial.

(At this point in other versions comes an account of a dance in which Galet wins back his wife's love; and on the return journey, instead of going in a canoe, she follows him as he walks on the waves.)

After the canoe he built had made such a successful voyage, Seimeligarara went to Seilangi and offered to teach him canoe-building. He said he was willing to do this because he, Seimeligarara, did not have enough people to work for him, while Seilangi had plenty.

So Seimeligarara taught Seilangi the art of the measuring-line. If you use it rightly, the canoe will be fast in the water. If you don't use it, but rely on your eye and the adz, the canoe will be very slow. Seimeligarara taught Seilangi all the proper measurements.

Seilangi went to work on a canoe. Whenever he had any doubts or difficulties, he took them to Seimeligarara. Seimeligarara taught him how to shape the bottom of the canoe, how to shape and measure the sail, and how to make holes in the outrigger float to tie it to the booms.

Seilangi taught the art of the line to SemerIk. From these three it spread among the gods. People down on earth asked the three gods to descend and teach them the art. The gods came down, so now people know how to shape a canoe.

In this story the special shape of forked end made by Seimeligarara evidently symbolizes the whole art of shaping a hull by means of lines. The forked end is called metali wa, face or eye of the canoe. The particular shape introduced by Seimeligarara is called popo, the name used by Haddon and Hornell (from what source is not stated) for the type of 'flying proa' used throughout the region. On Ifaluk popo is also the name of the two end sections of the underbody. The Hamburg expedition obtained a model canoe on Ifaluk with this kind of forked end. Its name, they were told, was gauat, and there had been one on Ifaluk until the typhoon of 1907. Tom said that in Ifaluk a carpenter might still build a canoe of popo type if he wanted to, and that there were many in some other islands. In a version of the Galet story collected by Spiro, without native text, the peculiarity of the canoe built by Seimeligarara for Galet is that the hull "turns at an angle." Conceivably this could be a way of describing an asymmetric hull. However that may be, at present the story serves on Ifaluk as a mythological charter for the practise of drawing lines on a canoe hull so that it can be hewn into a symmetrical shape.

Damm's account, based on Sarfert's visit, mentions a myth which attributes the first canoe to Seilangi. The only further detail is that he brought the art down to mankind on the island "Modj"; four days' journey south of Truk. Damm identifies this island with Modj (on our charts More) in the atoll Satawan

in the Nomoi or Mortlock group. No point of origin was known to my informants.

The first day in canoe building which is regarded as of vital importance is that on which the bottom is first measured off. The tree has already been selected and felled, the log for the underbody roughed out and hauled to the canoe-house where the work is to be done. On the morning of the day when the first lines are to be drawn, the workers may not touch food, except for a drink of fresh coconut toddy.

Before beginning the work, the carpenter takes a coconut and offers it to the gods Seimeligarara, Seilangi, and SemerIk, with the following prayer. (The English words for the first line seem to be a paraphrase rather than a translation.)

> Eia ngalir tautou, Tautou bwo li valval, E bwe gatre tipal.

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ik. an Gods of the carpenter Carpenter of the measuring-line, He will be happy.

Tom said this was the whole text of the prayer, but explained that the carpenter was going to be happy because his canoe would be light and fast, and would not sink.

The instruments used for measuring are a sennit line (tal ni valval), a flexible ruler (tageluva) made of a strip of coconut leaf midrib, a bit of leaflet midrib for measuring short spaces, a pot of red paint and a wooden pen or marker.

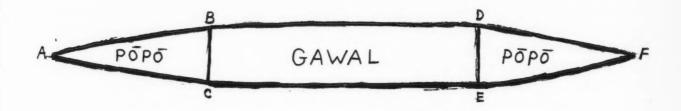


Fig. 10. First measurements on the bottom of a canoe.

ABDF is the top of the log, which will be the bottom of the hull. It is called <u>arol</u>. BC and DE are the dividing lines between the end sections, called <u>popo</u>, and the middle section, called <u>gawal</u>. The <u>gawal</u> is one half the total length; each of the popo one quarter. The dividing points B and D are called <u>annetok</u>.

First the length of the bottom is measured off with the line. Then its middle point is found by doubling the line. The line is redoubled, giving a length one quarter of the total. This quarter distance is measured off from each end and marked. This divides the bottom into three parts. The two at

the ends, called <u>popo</u>, are a quarter of the total length; the one in the middle, called <u>gawal</u>, half of the total. The bottom is to be curved along the <u>popo</u>, straight (or nearly so) along the <u>gawal</u>. This ensures that the two curving ends shall be of the same length.

Next a double line is stretched along the median line of the bottom (ABDF in the figure). With ruler and paint, lines are drawn on each side of it. Lines are then drawn with the ruler on each side of the median line. (ACEF in the figure represents one of them). The distances BC and DE and the corresponding ones on the other side, are carefully measured with a strip of leaflet midrib to make sure that they are all equal. This ensures symmetry of the underbody (pongo) at this stage, both longitudinally and transversely.

The master carpenter then gives permission for the workers to break their fast. They may now drink young coconut, and eat its soft flesh.

Next the bottom is hewn to shape. As the lines are chipped off with the adzes, new ones are drawn on. At a later stage it is customary to have five lines on each side. The principle is the same as with the first two; to keep them equidistant throughout their length, so that the hull will be symmetrical in both dimensions. This is said to ensure its sailing straight and fast.

When the underbody is finished except for final touches, it is turned right side up. Occasionally the builder of a small canoe will be able to get a log big enough to make the hull, except for the end-posts, all in one piece. Such a canoe is called wa velanu. All the larger canoes, though, and most of the small ones, have their sides built up with planks (pape).

The underbody is hollowed out for the sake of lightness, except that several triangular spreaders (vailo) are left intact to keep the flaring sides from collapsing. A joint is cut in each end, at a somewhat acute angle, to take the lower end of an end-post.

Next the end-pieces (par) are hewn out. Though much smaller than the underbody, they must take the brunt of any end-on collision. So they are made of hard, tough wood, usually <u>rages</u>. They are the only pieces in the hull to be made of other wood than breadfruit, though hardwoods are also used for the masthead and several parts of the outrigger and platforms.

Each end-piece is trimmed to form a cutwater (vetang) as sharp as it can be without weakening it too much. Even in the largest canoes, the cutwater is usually less than an inch wide. The inboard side is hollowed out, leaving two or three triangular spreaders, as in the underbody. The one that will come at the height of the gunwales has a special name, tali vetvet. A shallow round pit or socket is cut in its upper surface. This holds the apex of the sail, when that end is the bow; and supports the butt of a fishing-pole when the end is the stern and the canoe is being used for trolling. The forked head, the shape of which has already been discussed, is hewn out of the solid top of each endpiece; or, if wood is lacking for part of the fork on one side or both, separate pieces are shaped and fastened on. Finally, the bottom of each end-piece is cut to fit the joint cut in one end of the underbody. The post must set at such an angle as to give the overhang characteristic of all Ifaluk canoes.

The technique of fitting two pieces together, which begins with joining the parts of the forked head or, if that is all in one piece, with joining the end-post to the underbody, is always the same. It is a very slow one, requiring repeated trial fittings. The two parts to be fitted together are first shaped by eye; and the eye is such a practised one, in the case of experienced canoecarpenters, that an approximate fit is achieved at once. But hardly ever can it be good enough to make a watertight joint. So the joining surface of one of the pieces--always the lower one, on the piece first put in place as the canoe is built up--is daubed with red paint. The other piece is then lifted into place, with its joining surface against the fresh paint. Any protrusions, which widen the joint, take the paint, and show the carpenters where more wood has to be taken off. After the reddened bits of surface have been removed, and any other changes indicated by the fitting completed, the upper piece is tried on The process is repeated until the joint is satisfactorily tight at every point. This task, which is repeated for every piece in the hull where two surfaces are to be in contact, goes very slowly, with many pauses for consultation and rest. Only a few men--two to four seems a usual number--stay on the job through this stage.

When each joint is made satisfactorily tight, holes are bored at corresponding points in the two surfaces. Then the two are sewed together, with sennit cord. The leading end of the cord is stiffened, for pushing through the hole, by tying it to a makeshift bodkin or eyeless needle, which consists of a slender strip or splinter cut off a coconut leaf midrib. The cord is passed round and round through each hole; but the technique is strictly sewing rather than lashing, as it is sometimes called, because the cord passes through the planks rather than around them. The first attachment is only temporary.

With the end-pieces in place, breadfruit planks are hewn out of the biggest pieces available, and fitted and sewed together by the processes just described. Wood is so scarce that even wormeaten pieces are used, and patched if necessary. The joints between planks take whatever shape--usually a very irregular one--will waste the least wood. In this way the hull is built up to the size desired, or that dictated by the available timber.

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No ribs or inner framework stiffen the hull as a whole. Such a vessel, made of planks simply sewn together edge to edge, seems very flimsy. And, indeed, there is always danger, in a heavy sea, that the hull may be crushed or broken apart. Yet several devices help to strengthen it. The little triangular spreaders left in place in hewing out the underbody and end-posts have that effect, as far as they go. Broad gunwales (mesap), laid flat surmount both sides, stiffening them as well as turning aside some of the water that would otherwise splash in. The two outrigger booms, running athwart the hull amidships, are perhaps the strongest braces of all. The little rosemani, which keep to the lagoon except in calm weather, have no other thwarts than these. Larger canoes have several, the number varying with their size. Those nearest the bow and stern of sailing canoes have a special name (metangar) and an additional function. They project beyond the hull, and end in knobs. When the mast is up, the halyards are made fast to these projections, and the knobs keep them from slipping off.

These stiffening devices are most effective against inward stresses that threaten to crush the hull. Against outward stresses, so communicated from one member to another that they threaten to spread the hull apart, there is less protection. As a last resort a rope may be slung about a canoe at sea, to hold the hull together. Not everyone knows how to do this; in fact, the purpose of a song in which I first heard it mentioned was to shame a crew of young men who had let their canoe break apart on a sand-spit because they did not know how to rope it together.

When all the pieces of the hull have been hewn to shape and fitted together, there is another burst of work, requiring a considerable number of men. The hull is taken apart, a few chips hewn off here and there to make the joints fit better, then it is all put together again, this time permanently. The joints are tightened with thin strips that act like caulking, though they are laid in place, not driven in. The seams are glued, and the lashing is replaced more carefully than before. At this point in the building of Tom's canoe, 31 men were counted in the canoe-house, though there were rarely more than 10 working at any one time.

The strips that correspond to caulking are made of the husk of mature coconuts, skillfully cut in very thin slices (päle). Sometimes, it is said, dried moss may be used instead; but coconut husk is preferred for the best canoes.

Over the caulking is spread a glue of breadfruit gum (<u>bwIIIs</u>). The gum collects on slashes made in the bark and outer wood of the trunk. It is kept, nowadays, in glass bottles. To remove it for use, a stick is thrust into the bottle. When withdrawn, it pulls out after it a white rope of gum. This is wound on the stick in a ball. Before applying, it is heated with a torch (<u>kal</u>) of coconut spathes. Thus softened, it comes off on the caulking in a thin, even sheet.

Taking the hull apart, caulking it, and re-assembling it, constitute a full day's work, though taken at a much faster pace than the leisurely one used in fitting planks together. About midday the owner of the canoe feasts the workmen on breadfruit or taro in coconut cream, which is usually all he has to offer.

Although this is a day of great activity it is not taken as solemnly as the days of more delicate, risky tasks. The workmen are not subjected to any tabus and the only ritual performed is a short prayer and offering a bit of food just before the men begin to eat. This is customary at any distribution of food to a group larger than a household.

The fitting of gunwales and preparation of the parts of the outrigger make up another slow, careful stage, with only a few men working at a time. The outrigger booms are centered in the hull by measuring its overall length with a sennit line, then doubling the line. At points equidistant from the halfway mark so determined, and about a yard apart, the outrigger booms are fitted into the gunwales. The same measure—half the overall length of the hull—is

used for the distance from the middle of the hull to the point on each boom directly over the middle of the outrigger float.

The next crucial point is the attachment of the outrigger float (tam). This is considered a particularly delicate and difficult task. On the day when it is done, the workmen again eat nothing in the morning, --this time not even toddy. Four forked sticks (iam) form the Y or crutch connectives. The insides of the forks are carefully fitted with great care to the upper surface of the float. On each boom, one fork presses against the inboard angle of this surface, the other against the outboard angle. They are not fastened at this end in any way.

A number of other pieces are added to strengthen the outrigger attachment. A yoke (wā lieng) connects the two booms between the inner and outer pairs of crutches. Just inboard from the inner pair of crutches, another spar (sosoa) connects the two booms. Riri fern leaves are tied on with the lashing that attaches this brace. These leaves are thought to ensure the presence of fish whenever the canoe goes out after them. If the leaves were omitted, there would be fish sometimes, but not always. The fact that fish are not always found even when this requirement has been met does not seem to disturb anyone's faith. The structure is further braced by means of light struts which run diagonally from the outer side of each boom to the outer sides of each pair of crutches. Another light stick connects the lower side of the booms at the lower end of the struts. These pieces are very small, usually less than

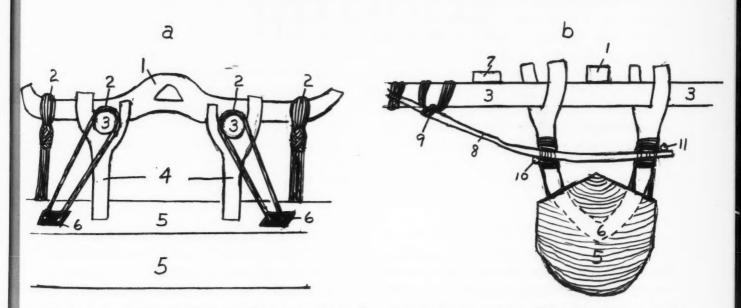


Fig. 11. Outrigger attachment. For the sake of clearness this diagram omits many details, such as the lashings that bind the crutch connectives, yoke, and brace to the boom. a. from outboard side; only the outboard crutch connectives are shown. l. yoke (walieng); 2. lashing attaching yoke and booms to float; 3. booms (gio); 4. crutch connectives, (ams); 5. float (tam); 6. holes in float through which lashings pass. b. end view, showing only one boom and the inboard and outboard connectives and strut attached to it. Numbering as in a, with the following additions; 7, brace; 8. strut; 9. light brace between booms; 10. light brace between inboard connectives.

1/2 inch in diameter; but they are made of the strongest kinds of wood, commonly gaingei. Thus the outrigger attachment is braced and reinforced against stress in almost any direction, while the lashing, and at some points the elasticity of the wood, allow the structure to give a little without breaking. The crutches and their bracing serve to keep booms and float at the proper distance from each other. The float is fastened to the rest of the structure solely by stout rope lashing (Fig. 11). It can be quickly and easily detached by simply undoing these ropes; and this is often done, to save space and strain, when a canoe is stowed in the canoe-house.

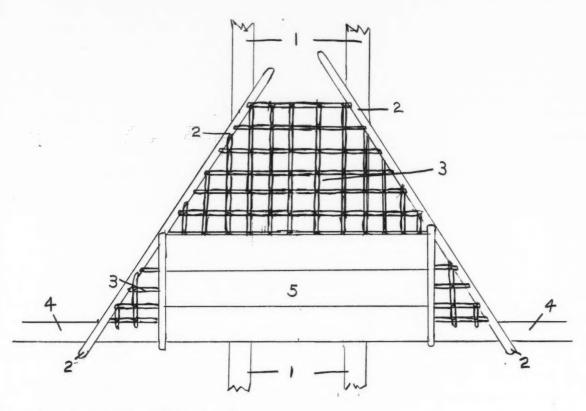


Fig. 12. Outrigger platform.

1. booms; 2. diagonal spars (<u>metare vang</u>) between booms and gunwales; 3. withe platform (<u>vang</u>)*; 4. gunwales; 5. plank platform (<u>peraf</u>); 6. shaped upright planks (<u>mwale maor</u>) at fore and after ends of plank platform.

The light platform on the outrigger booms is built next. As this involves no new techniques, the details shown in Fig. 12 seem sufficient. The same is true of the lee platform shown in Fig. 13.

^{*} Actually the longitudinal sticks are laid so close together that the transverse ones do not show from above.

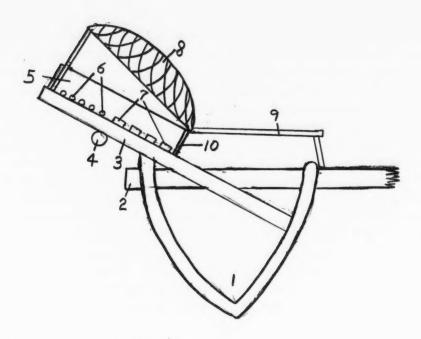


Fig. 13. Lee platform (pep).

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l. hull; 2. boom; 3. supporting spar (sua); (There is one at each end of the platform; only the nearer one is shown. Midway between them is a squared beam, not shown, which forms an additional support to the floor of the platform but does not extend across the hull. It is called outeni i pep.) 4. longitudinal spar (walieng); 5. end frame piece (pal i pep; only the farther one is shown); 6. withes forming floor of outer part of platform (fang i li pep); 7. slats forming floor of inner part of platform (ujili i pep); 8. pandanus leaf roof or shelter over platform (gaimwemwe; this consists of whole pandanus leaves, overlapping, laid over a light frame of withes lashed together. A top layer of sennit netting prevents the leaves from being torn off by the wind.) 9. transverse board (folak; there is one at each end of the platform; only the farther one is shown); 10. inboard frame piece (weliwa).

When all but the rigging is in place, the final lashing is put in, more tightly and carefully than the others. Wherever any appreciable length of lashing is exposed, it is protected by seizing. The holes in the hull, through which the lashings run, are filled with a putty or mortar made of coral lime mixed with charcoal from burned coconut husks. The charcoal is said to give the mixture strength.

The shaping of the mast (gaus) is once more a task for one or two men. The mast is made in two pieces, a main spar of soft wood and an extension or masthead (mereligaus or just mer) of hard wood. Logs that drift ashore from the east, and are said to come from America, furnish the favorite material for the main spar. The masthead is attached to the main spar by lashing

over a long diagonal joint. At the top it is finished off in diamond shape, like a blunt spearhead. This part is broader and flatter than the rest. Through its center is cut a hole, which serves instead of block or pully to take the halyard that hoists and lowers the sail. As the sail is suspended from this halyard, the pull of the wind comes against one side of the hole in the masthead. The stress would be too great for a soft or easily-split wood. That is why the masthead is a separate piece, of the toughest wood available. The favorite wood is rages.

Long, light spars (<u>iranu</u>) are prepared for two of the three sides of the sail. In most cases they are pieced together with the same kind of long, diagonal lashed joint as that used to join the two pieces of the mast. Most of the spars have a slight double curve, like an extremely flat 's'. Hence the sail, instead of being a rectilinear triangle, flares out a little, from the apex toward the after side, where there is no spar. This shape of spar seems to be deliberately preferred; whether simply as a matter of traditional taste, or because of some real or supposed advantage in the flare that it gives to the sail, is not clear.

Meanwhile women have been making one of their two contributions to the construction of the canoe--plaiting strips of mat for the sail. (The other is the indirect one of supplying food to the workers.) The strips are about a foot wide, of unbleached pandanus leaf, plaited in simple check with wefts about one quarter inch wide. In length the strips vary from one nearly the full length of the forward spar or gaff, to one only a little longer than it is wide. All will be attached at one end to the lower spar or boom. The other end will form a selvage along the open or after side of the sail. The longest strip will be attached along one side to the upper spar or yard. Each successive strip, counting from this side, is shorter until the last one, at the corner where boom and open side meet, shows as a triangle. Except for overlap, it is only about as long as it is wide on the forward side, and comes down to a point on the after corner.

The length of the largest strip is determined, then, by the length of the yard, the number of strips by the length of the boom. The length of each succeeding strip, as they taper off, is worked out by trial and discussion among all concerned. There is no formal position of master sailmaker among the women, but the ranking member of each working party, according to seniority and experience, is accorded some deference.

The finished strips are brought to the men. They lay out the gaff and boom on a level piece of ground, usually in front of the canoe-house, at what is judged to be the angle they will take when the sail is finished. The strips of matting are laid in place, according to length, parallel to the gaff and with an inch or two of overlap. Then they are sewed together with light sennit lines. Not only are seams sewed where the strips join, but the whole is strengthened by other lines of stitching run across at right angles. Foreign sailmakers' needles of copper or brass are used for this work. Most of the stitches are several inches long.

It would be perfectly feasible to plait a sail in one piece. But a sail made of strips has several advantages. It is stronger, because of the double width along the seams. When a tear does start, it is apt to be confined to one strip. And such a tear, or worn place, can be easily repaired by replacing one strip, or part of one.

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As soon as the rigging is ready, the canoe is carried into the water and launched. It is taken for a trial run (gaterax), to see how it performs under sail. First it is paddled out to where it can catch the wind, then the mast is stepped and the sail hoisted for the first time.

The heel of the mast is set into a socket cut in a block on the outrigger platform, just amidships and directly over the gunwale on the outrigger or weather side. (This side is called palietam; the lee side, igeta.) The sail is hoisted by hauling on the peak halyard that runs through the masthead and is fastened to the yard on the upper long side of the sail. The mast is tilted forward until the apex of the sail settles into a socket cut for it in the wedge-shaped brace (ta li vetvet) on the inboard side of the end-post, at the height of the gunwales. This corner of the sail is made fast by means of a short line or tack. From this point the lower spar or boom rises at an angle, so that the short side of the sail, the one without a spar, is highest and farthest aft.

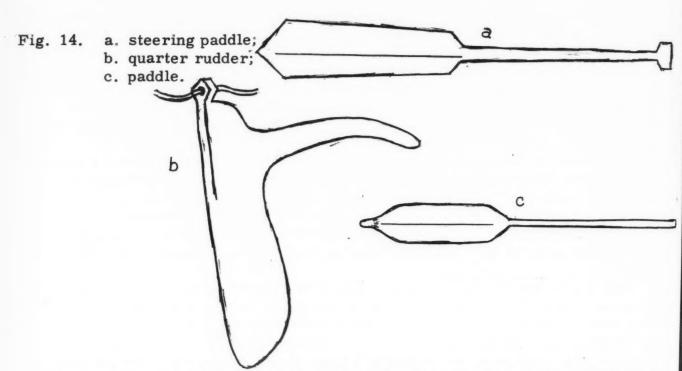
The mast is supported to windward by a shroud running from the masthead to a hole in the middle of the yoke which connects the two outrigger booms directly over the float. Fore and aft it is supported by a running stay attached in the middle to the masthead and at the ends to the projecting endmost thwarts. The sail is let in and out by a sheet attached to the boom, much as in sails of European type. To shorten sail in case a squall threatens to capsize the canoe, the boom can be raised by means of spilling lines reeved through the masthead.*

In order to change to the other tack in beating to windward, or to make any sharp turn of more than a right angle, the canoe does not go about like European sailing craft, but changes ends. This is quickly done, while the canoe swings toward the new direction, by the following procedure: raising the boom to shorten sail, unfastening the apex of the sail, swinging the sail around the mast to leeward, and stepping the apex in the other end. This

^{*} This rig is shown, more clearly than words can do it, in some of the illustrations in Haddon and Hornell; particularly Vol. 1, Figs. 269 and 270. Fig. 268 shows more clearly the shroud from masthead to yoke, but the sail is either in the wrong position or is of a different type from that used in Ifaluk. Abb. 150 on p. 53 of Damm's book shows how some of the lines are attached to the mast. But the artist who redrew Sarfert's sketch made the mast too long and the apex of the sail too high, like a European lateen, rather than an Oceanic one.

converts what was the stern into the bow. The steersman takes his post in what was the bow, which now becomes the stern. The boom is lowered, the sheet let out. The sail catches the wind, and the canoe moves off in the new direction. Obviously, the reason for this procedure is to keep the outrigger on the windward side, and so balance the vessel against the sidewise pressure of wind on the sail.

For maneuvering in shallow water, sailing canoes use the same equipment as small paddling canoes; paddles and even poles, though poles are rather for staving off coral heads than for propulsion, as the large canoes avoid water shallow enough for poling. The paddles have round, straight shafts, without knobs or other elaborations at the top, and lanceolate blades. These taper symmetrically from a low ridge along the middle to thin edges. At the tip, in most paddles, the middle ridge is extended and slightly expanded (Fig. 14, c) The protruding knob or spike helps to prevent the blade from splitting when the paddle is used for poling or staving off an obstacle; though such use is avoided, if there is time to seize a pole.



In open sea, canoes are kept on their course by a quarter rudder (Fig. 14, b) It is shipped near the stern on the leeward side. The line through the hole in its upper part is made fast to the projection of the stern thwart on the opposite side. The direction of the blade is regulated by the handle. To hold the lower

part of the blade against the side of the canoe, the steersman has to sit on the gunwale with one leg over the side. For this reason, steering at sea is an awkward and strenuous task.

The quarter rudder not only steers the canoe, but cuts down drift like the sideboards sometimes fitted to small canoes in the United States when they are sailed.

The hulls have a total height of four or five feet, and when loaded draw from two to, at most, three feet of water. Lacking a keel, or even the flattened leeward side of some other Micronesian canoes, they cannot sail close to the wind, and drift rather badly. This seems to be the main weakness of the canoes, otherwise admirably fast under sail, and seaworthy for their size.

One of the chief worries of the native navigator is that he may drift off his course unless he has a following wind, and miss entirely the small, low island which is the only destination he can have within three or four hundred miles of Ifaluk.

Unless the trial run indicates the need of some further work or readjustments on the canoe--none were necessary on Tom's masterpiece--the permanent lashing (or sewing) is at last put in, and the hull painted. This is the final step in making a canoe. It is always done in red, black, and white, according to the traditional design shown in Fig. 15. This design was part of the traditional lore of canoe-making brought down to men by the gods Seilangi and Semerik. If ever an Ifaluk man seriously considers painting a canoe in any other way, the mentality of the island will be very different from what it was in 1948. No tabu against painting a canoe in some other design, nor penalty for doing so, was ever mentioned. It did not have to be. No such idea ever comes up. There is only one right way to paint a canoe, so, of course, they are all painted that way. There is scope for individual fancy at only one point: the middle of the upper red band, between the outrigger booms, where little decorations or attempts at writing may be painted. Tom's choice for this part of his canoe was an American flag.



Fig. 15. Traditional design for painting a canoe. The colors are red, black, and white. Portions painted in red are shown by shading. The little panels of white, outlined with black, are called <u>rajum</u>; the red portion (perhaps only the wide parts of it near bow and stern?), <u>metegal</u>; the black line through the middle of the red, <u>fare</u>; the narrow lower strip of red, <u>lanIlap</u>; the boundary between red and lower black, <u>meteitralo</u>; and the black under portion, <u>amis</u>.

b

The pigments used nowadays are bought from foreign ships; but the red, which is the first put on and apparently the most prized, is still mixed with breadfruit gum. If my informants can be trusted as to the pigment formerly used, it was bark of the rel tree soaked in water and mixed with coral lime. When this red paint is being applied, one of the huge leaves of the giant arum (file) is suspended over the hull. This can hardly be anything but a bit of magic or ritual to ensure success of the job, or of the canoe after it is finished. But Tom could not explain its symbolism. He fell back on his usual statement about traditional practises whose meaning had been forgotten--"blong before."

No part of the outrigger is ever painted. Pestered again with the inevitable "Why?", Tom at first parried with "blong before." After thinking it over, he suggested that the paint might be too heavy. We were talking especially about the float, and this suggestion at least reflects native insistence that the float must be light; so light that the wood of only two of the nine varieties of breadfruit is considered suitable for it.

After the trial trip comes the painting, and after the painting a final bit of ritual. For four successive nights a fire is lit outside the canoe-house in which the newly painted canoe is kept. Spiro was told that failure to light this fire would spoil the fishing from that canoe--the fish would not bite.

Navigation

The ancient art of navigation in native sailing canoes is still in use on the seas about Ifaluk. Most of the voyages are short, between neighboring islands. Probably more than half of the traffic in and out of Ifaluk is with Woleai, only 30 miles away. Yet trips to any of the islands within 100 miles are not unusual. And though longer distances, as to Yap, Truk and Guam, are now ordinarily left to foreign steamers or airplanes, sailing directions for them, too, are still remembered. Tom, whose claim to be the foremost 'captain' of Ifaluk seemed to be generally acknowledged, said that he could still reach any of those islands by the old methods. However, he owns two compasses, and knows how to use them from his long service on foreign ships. He would supplement native lore by taking one along.

A glimpse of the extent of interisland voyaging is afforded by the list of sailings to and from Ifaluk during our six months there:

- Aug. 18--A visiting canoe from Faraulep, which had been at Ifaluk since our arrival (July 28) awaiting a wind from the south, set out for home. accompanied by an Ifaluk canoe.
- Sept. 2--Ifaluk canoe returned from Faraulep.
- Sept. 11--An Ifaluk canoe set out for Woleai.
- Sept. 17--Ifaluk canoe returned from Woleai, accompanied by a Woleai canoe.
- Sept. 19--Woleai canoe returned.
- Oct. 3--Another canoe arrived from Woleai.

Oct. 11--Visiting canoe went back to Woleai.

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Dec. 6--Ifaluk canoe went fishing to the reef Faiaulap.

Jan 14--Woleai canoe that had visited Ifaluk in October came again.

The long interval from October 11 to January 14, with no sailings except one overnight fishing trip, was partly accidental, but largely due to the prevailing winds. During October and November they varied in both direction and force. They were mainly from the west. A west wind is good for reaching Elato, Lamotrek or Satawal from Ifaluk. But Tom was the only one who wanted to go that way (to visit a son on Lamotrek). And he was kept at home by two considerations: first, he had the visiting anthropologists to look after; second, his new canoe was not finished.

Another deterrent at that time of year is that the westerly wind may blow up, with little warning, into a typhoon. Ifaluk was not struck by a typhoon at that time; but twice--once in November, once in December--was in the edges of one whose full force was felt on Yap. On those days the wind blew hard enough to uproot trees. That is far too strong for a canoe to venture out in, though one caught in such a blow may manage to ride it out.

From late November on, the trade wind blew from the east nearly every day. During the early part of its season this wind, too, is often too strong for safe sailing. Later on it dies down, and is more often a mild sailing breeze. Moreover, beginning about May, there would be occasional days of west wind; so that a canoe that went to Woleai before the trade might expect a good wind for the return trip without too long a wait. (A similar situation accounts for the frequent sailings to and from Woleai during September and October.) More frequent sailings might be expected during our spring and early summer months; but as we left Ifaluk before then, no record can be given.

An accredited navigator is called palū. They are rather vaguely divided into two classes, palū e lap, great captains, and palū gitigit, lesser captains. There is no formal procedure for conferring such a title, but a man is generally recognized as a palū when he has successfully taken a canoe on a round trip to another island. He will not try this until he has studied the lore of navigation with an accredited navigator, and taken several trips as a member of the crew.

There were six recongized <u>palu</u> on Ifaluk during our stay: Totogoeiti (Tom); Magaleisei, Tom's brother; Iregemar; GauaisIg, an old man: and the chief Paliuilimar, who died during our stay, was said by Tom to rank lower than the others. He was definitely a <u>palu gitigit</u>. But of them all Tom was apparently the only one likely to be called <u>palu e lap</u>. In addition to these, several others had made some progress in the art, without yet being recognized as palu,

The position of palū is the most honored one a man can attain by his own merit and effort. The palū is higher in general esteem than the sennap or

canoe carpenter; higher also than the <u>tau bwongbwong</u> or oracle of the gods. He is outranked only by the chiefs; and chieftainship, being hereditary, is an ascribed status, while recognition as navigator is achieved. But the title of <u>palu</u> does not confer any tangible advantages, or any precedence except aboard a sailing canoe or in conversations about seafaring.

The lore of navigation, like the similarly specialized and restricted knowledge of canoe-building, gains dignity and authority from myth, wherein its origin is attributed to gods. Befitting its position as the most esteemed of these specialties, navigation has not one myth but several. Tattooing might make the same claim, since that art is ascribed to the god Wolfat, who is also the hero of several other tales. But tattooing is mentioned in only one of the Wolfat tales, and that apparently a minor or restricted one; for the chiefs, in giving Wolfat tales to Spiro, did not include the one about tattooing. The myths about navigation, however, all focus on the special lore. Navigation has, too, a greater number of gods than any other specialty. And these gods are owners or rulers of particular islands. One of the islands is supposedly on earth, near Puluwat; but the largest and most fertile part of it is underground. Another one or more are in the sky.

In beginning one of his greatest favors to me, that of imparting the lore of navigation or "talk for cap'n", Tom gave a sketchy genealogy of the gods of navigation. Aluluei is the oldest and the only one with any distinctive physical attributes. He has four eyes, two in his face like those of mortals, and two in the back of his head. With the eyes in the back of his head he can see any dangers that threaten the navigators under his care.

Aluluei has three brothers: Metseleilap

Terablemetau

Farewai

He has also four sons: Pal

Paluelap

Farewai Valur, later known as Sagol

Wëriëng

When asked about the name Farewai, which occurs both as that of a brother of Aluluei and as that of a son, Tom said that the son was a different Farewai. That may be the traditional version. Yet he did not seem to have this genealogy very clearly in mind, and may have made a mistake. If so, I probably made another in questioning him immediately. It may have put him on the defensive, in which case, he might try to justify what he had said rather than correct it. (In one of the myths, Farewai teaches weather lore to Longolap and LangorIk, whom Tom there called his "nephews").

Paluelap, elder son of Aluluei, went to Ponape and took a wife there. Her name is no longer remembered. They had two sons: Longolap and Longorlk; and a daughter, whose name also is no longer remembered. In fact one of the characteristics of this lore about a man's occupation is that none of the women mentioned in it have names.

How the Lore of Seamanship Came to Ifaluk

The god Aluluei came to Bwennap, an island of sand with one wutu tree growing on it. Bwennap can be seen from Puluwat. He took a wife there, and they had two sons and a daughter. The older boy was called Longolap, the younger Longorlk.

Underneath Bwennap is a large, populous place, of which Aluluei is chief. A sister of his also lives there.

One day, early in the morning, a canoe came to Bwennap. It was a big canoe, but had no sail. It was propelled by paddles. In it were three gods: Valur, god of fish; Wëriëng, god of birds; and Segur, god of navigators.

Aluluei's daughter, who was bathing, saw the canoe coming and ran to her father, asking that food be prepared for the travelers. But the canoemen kept on paddling. The canoe seemed about to pass the island without stopping.

The girl picked up a tiny coconut, no bigger than her fist, held it up, and called out to them to come.

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"I want to go with you. I'll bring a coconut for you to drink."

"All right. Bring it along."

She waded out to the canoe with her coconut. When they saw the tiny thing, they said, "That is not enough."

"Drink it anyway," the girl answered.

One of the men in the canoe took the little nut and began to drink. He drank and drank until he had had all he could hold, but there was plenty of water left in it. He passed it to the next man, and so it went around, until all had drunk their fill. And still there was plenty of water left in the nut.

The three gods laughed with pleasure to find that the little coconut would hold so much water.

"Climb into the canoe," they told the girl. She got aboard.

They spread a chart before her.

"You see that? We are very grateful to you for bringing us that coconut, so we will let you have our chart. Look here. See all the islands? See all the birds? See all the fish? Take this, and give it to your father."

The girl went back to Aluluei with the chart, and the canoe paddled on out of sight.

"What is this?" the girl asked her father when he had spread it out before him. "I don't understand it."

Aluluei understood it well, and was overjoyed to see it. Though he was a great navigator, there was much information here that he did not know. It had all the lore of seamanship: the positions of all the islands, and all the birds and fish that a navigator would see in voyaging from one to another.

Aluluei summoned the famous navigator Paluelap.

"Come look at this chart!"

Paluelap took it. He too could understand all that it revealed.

"Tell the people all that is on there. Teach them the lore of seamanship."

So Paluelap began to teach the people. Many did not understand, but there were some who did. Thus the lore of seamanship became known in Bwennap. From there it spread to Puluwat and Souk (Pulusuk). There it was learned by men from Satawan. From Satawan it came to Lamotrek, and so to Ifaluk and Woleai and Faraulep.

Two of the four myths told me as part of the lore of navigation tell how Aluluei taught the lore to his sons, Longolap and LongorIk, and the adventures that befell them. These two are among the best examples of form in folk-tales collected in Ifaluk, and so will be used in the study of native art. As they add nothing to the lore itself, it would be repetitious to give them here. The fourth story, which also adds nothing to the lore from our point of view, but does from theirs, follows:

Why Valur Changed His Name to Sagol

Wëriëng went from Bwennap, where there was hardly any food except coconuts, to Truk, to get food for his wife. His brother Valur went with him. Now Valur had been carrying on a stealthy love affair with Wëriëng's wife. So when they were out of sight of land, Wëriëng threw Valur overboard and sailed on, thinking he had got rid of him.

But Valur found a piece of floating bamboo, crawled inside it, and used it as a canoe to get back to Bwennap. He hid in his house, letting the people think he was in Truk.

Wëriëng got a supply of breadfruit, taro, and red turmeric paint, and came back to Bwenap. He told the people Valur had taken sick and died on the way to Truk, and that he had buried him at sea.

Wëriëng stayed four days in Bwennap. While there he prepared an offering of food for Iolau, a god of navigators. Iolau makes people sick if they eat wot taro without mashing it, or eat any of his seven kinds of fish: trep, tak, igolau, atek, lipëre, gus, and apap. But Wëriëng knew a song to sing over the food, which would cause the god to take the curse off it, so that it could be eaten safely.

During the preparations for the feast, Valur got into a big food bowl, a fathom or more in length. Some women who were in the secret piled mashed taro over him, and brought the bowl to Wëriëng's house.

Wëriëng dipped his finger into the bowl, and Valur bit him.

"I'm not dead!" he shouted. "Here I am!"

With that he stood up. Thus all the people knew that Wëriëng had lied when he said that Valur was dead. Wëriëng was shamed before the people.

Valur, in his anger, left Bwennap and came to Satawan,

Lamotrek, Faraulep, Aurupik, Woleai and Ifaluk.

He changed his name to Sagol, the name of the kind of bamboo he had used for a canoe when Wëriëng threw him overboard at sea.

Seven songs were dictated by Tom as part of the navigator's lore. They seem to be both prayers and incantations, if we define prayer as an appeal for help to a divine being, and incantation as a song thought to have magical power in itself. Each song is accompanied by a bit of ritual, which reinforces its meaning as gesture reinforces the meaning of ordinary speech. But these are not mere optional gestures. They are essential to the proper utterance of the song. This seems to give them the character of magic, credited with power in itself, rather than of religion, appealing to an outside power. Yet the ritual can well be thought of an obeisance appropriate to an appeal, like a bow or salute to a human superior. It is my impression that the natives do not make the distinction between the two, but regard this behavior both as what we call magic and as what we call religion.

The texts of the songs will be given in the study of native art. One of them is an appeal to Sauta, a god not mentioned in the myths, for wisdom. He is asked to illuminate the navigator's mind by lighting a fire within him. As he sings this, the navigator rubs over his chest sand, mixed with sea water taken from the point where land and water meet. A similar song, using the same figure of lighting a fire but not naming any particular deity, is uttered while cutting off the bud end of a coconut and mixing the juice with leaves of aro.

A third song, which Tom said was particularly advanced and hard to get, is intended to lighten the canoe so it will stay afloat. It invokes Loulemwau, whom Tom called "god of the canoe." It is sung while the navigator, holding a ripe coconut in its husk, bound about with a strip of coconut leaf, wades around his canoe, tapping the hull at the waterline with the coconut.

An appeal for fair weather is sung to the god Werieng. To sing this, the captain goes aboard with a piece of white young coconut leaf. This he taps against the sail as he sings, then ties bits of it to all the lines of the rigging.

Before the mast is set up, it is swept with a strip of white leaf, while the navigator sings a song to Ilekerep, god of the sea-lanes, asking him to bring the canoe safe to its port. A similar appeal for the return voyage is sung as the mooring line is untied from a tree, and rubbed back and forth against the landward side of the tree. In this song Soupalele, god of the navigator, is asked to anchor the canoe in the woods, in the center of the home island.

Far the longest and most comprehensive of the songs was described by Tom as his own special prayer for success at sea. It had been given by one of the gods of navigation—he did not know which one—to a navigator of ancient times, and handed down to his pupils from generation to generation ever since.

This song invokes not one god but a multitude of them, running up the number in a final stanza from one hundred to ten thousand. It appeals for most of the gifts asked separately in the other songs: wisdom in seamanship, divine guidance of the canoe, strength and health for the navigator, fair weather, and shortening the distance between Ifaluk and Woleai. As he begins singing it the navigator ties about his wrist a strip of white coconut leaf. He drinks a coconut for the gods, and offers a piece of taro and an umule fish.

An illustration in Damm's report shows two images, presumably collected by Sarfert, which are said to be used for weather magic. The heads, bodies and arms are carved of wood in stylized human form. One of them is double, with heads and bodies facing both ways. The single one has a disproportionately large penis. Instead of legs and feet they have bases, apparently of some plastic material, in which are embedded long, slender prongs--the text calls them Rochenstacheln, spines or thorns--on which the images apparently stand; three of them for the single image, four for the double one. Strips of coconut leaf are tied about the arms, and about the body of the single image. They are said to be vangvang (? Damm uses bangwang for "prayer", but it ordinarily means any gift) of the god Aluluei. The double figure taken with the statement that Aluluei has four eyes, suggests that this may be an image of him. It was apparently to some such objects that Tom was referring when he said that a navigator may have an object or image which has power like that of the songs to help him on his voyages. He had none himself, and said there was none on Ifaluk when we were there.

For some reason, Sarfert was told that the old lore of navigation had been mostly forgotten. But the two best navigators of Ifaluk were away at the time. He did collect names and positions of 28 stars, which correspond fairly well to the 32 given me; and some other details. However that may be, Tom had a remarkable amount of "talk for cap'n" in his memory. The supernatural part of it has been given. What we would consider the practical part follows. Even this has many details that seem to us fantastic and impossible; notably the bits about sighting particular birds and fish at particular places. Some of the guiding stars named for certain islands, even, are not accurate, according to our charts. Yet conceivably they may serve the purpose, for some reason of wind or current. It is noticeable that the directions have not the vagueness and inconsistency of the myths. At any rate, canoes are able to reach neighboring islands most of the time, though being lost at sea is unquestionably one of the people's haunting fears. Directions for more distant points are little used and may be more dubious.

The account of native use of stars to guide navigators may be prefaced by an outline of native cosmography, as told to Spiro by the chiefs. The sky is

thought of as a material object, in the shape of a dome or hemisphere, which meets the ocean all around its lower edge. No native has ever reached the point, or line, where sky and ocean meet. The chiefs asked Spiro whether any American had ever reached north or south, showing that these names designate not merely directions, but what are thought of as points in space. The people also asked whether any American had flown to the sky, having been told by the Japanese thay they had done so.

Sun, moon and stars are fixed to the sky and move along it, each following its regular al or path. Sun, moon and stars all provide light, which is necessary for human life; because if there were no light people could not see to work, and would all die.

There is no word in the Ifaluk language corresponding to our "universe" or "Cosmos", and no term for earth, to distinguish both land and sea from sky. There is land (falu), and sea (tat), but no concept, at least no verbalized one, uniting the two. Falu means "Island" as well as "land", for all the lands they know are islands. The term bwanifalu, "all the lands", is the most comprehensive geographical reference. Before contact with Europeans, their knowledge was limited to the Carolines and a few adjacent islands in the Pacific; but within this area relative positions were well fixed in their minds. Higalifalu, "the lands that are here", seems to approximate our "Carolines." "Europe" is used as a generic term for all the "civilized" lands they know of.

Fig. 16 shows the positions of the stars used for navigation in Ifaluk; of the nearer islands and reefs; and a few of the more important ones at greater distances. Tom gave them to me from memory, but with a compass before us; and I wrote them down on sheets of paper with circles drawn on them like those on Fig. 16, marked to show the points of the compass. This kind of notation was suggested to me by Tom's occasional use of English terms for points of the compass. He approved it, and at times supervised my notations closely, so far as directions are concerned.

Damm, from a sketch by Sarfert, shows positions of some stars on a rectangular figure. Undoubtedly Tom's approval of my use of circles came from his familiarity with the European compass. It is questionable whether natives unfamiliar with the compass would conceive the universe with either square or circular boundaries. What they would have in mind, pretty surely, is something corresponding to the horizontal lines of Fig. 16, which represent the courses or paths of the stars from rising to setting. When I asked Tom what a navigator would do when his guiding star was not in sight, he said, "He must know the road for that star." Damm, too, speaks of the road of a star (die Bahn dieses Sternbildes) and may be quoting, via Sarfert, a native expression.

To save space, the corresponding charts for other islands are summarized in Appendix I. This does not exhaust the lore in Tom's memory. After giving me the lists from several islands, he asked me whether I wanted them all. As the process was taking a good deal of precious time, I decided that lists from the nearest islands and from the three most important farther ones--Guam,

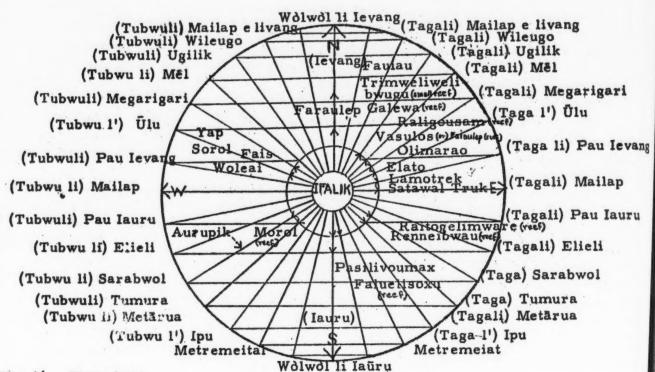


Fig. 16. Star chart.

Fig. 16. -Star chart. Names outside the circle are those of stars used in navigation. Taga means 'rises'; tubwu, 'sets'; li being the definite article. Horizontal lines indicate the paths of the stars across the sky. Inside the circle, the two words in parentheses indicate the most clearly conceived cardinal directions: (Ievang) north, (Iauru) south. Names inside the circle and not in parentheses are those of islands or reefs said to be reached by steering for the rising or setting points on the same radial line.

Yap, and Truk--would do to illustrate the nature of native lore and suggest the extent of it. How many more he could have given I am not sure. Perhaps not many; but I recall his speaking as if he knew a similar list from Puluwat, which seems to have been a center of particularly high development of native navigation. And probably he could have given several others.

It is noticeable that the lists from the farthest islands are the least complete and exact. That for Guam, which because of the east-west direction of prevailing winds is the most inaccessible by sail from Ifaluk, is the worst of all. Putting Europe north by west from Guam is the nadir. But in that Tom was, of course, departing from anything in native tradition. I suspect that the mistakes in locating Saipan and "Nuta" (Rota?) from Guam are not errors in his knowledge but in his use of English. He was subject to lapses in which he would say "south" for "north", and vice versa. One such would account for these errors. In spite of this, the Guam list is not impressive. Yet the total amount of his memorized information, and the accuracy of a good deal of it, do speak well for native mental capacity.

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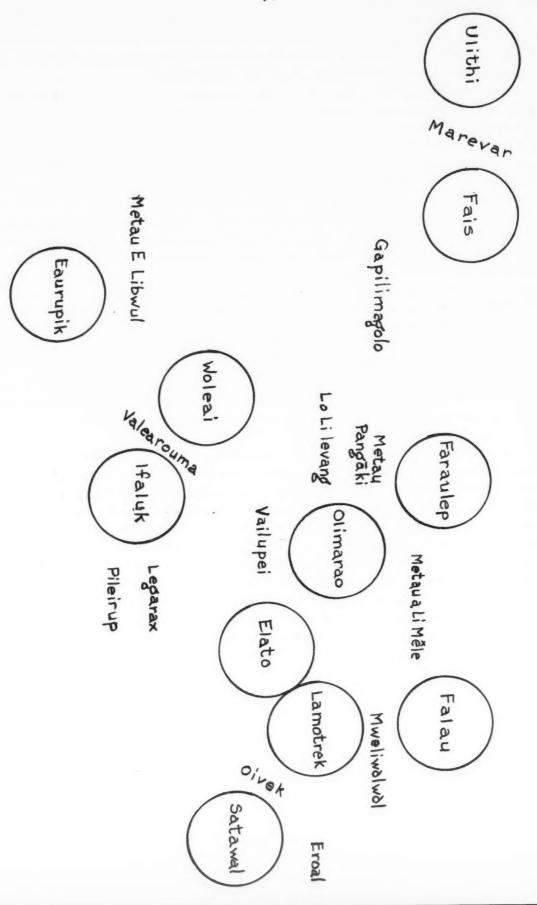
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Stars are used not only to give directions, but to indicate weather. Only a few of these signs were given. They may have some validity for seasonal changes. When the star Maileu (not used as a guiding star, hence not shown in the star chart) is high in the sky before dawn, winds will be light and good for sailing. But when Maileu hangs low over the sea at dawn, and the star Sota comes up before sunrise, winds will be dangerously strong. The star Rangalieli in the east presages good weather. When the star Ul rises before dawn (this would be Tagal'ulu of Fig. 16), it is a good time for a voyage toward the west.

To identify the stars with names used in our astronomy, Dr. Maud W. Makemson of Vassar College, a pioneer in what might be called ethnoastronomy kindly responded to an appeal for help. She computed the azimuths of the stars located by Tom according to points of the compass, and identified them as nearly as possible from such rough data. Later, Dr. Ward H. Goodenough sent a copy of his "Native Astronomy in the Central Carolines", which shows that the native system is, or was, the same throughout what he calls the Central Carolines Language Area. He has worked out an identification applicable to the whole area. His material included data from Ifaluk both from Sarfert and from Burrows' field notes. In the table below, Dr. Makemson's identifications are given in the middle, Dr. Goodenough's in the right-hand column. Where they agree, there seems little room for doubt that the identifications are correct. Where they disagree, the author of this report is quite incompetent to judge where the difficulty lies, beyond the obvious conclusion that it is a matter of inadequate data.*

^{*} Goodenough points out that Carolinian navigators used the east-west axis of their islands (7° - 8° N) as an "equator", which would throw off identifications based on the true equator.

Fig. 17. - Diagram map of the atolls about Ifaluk, with native names of the interisland seas.



Identifications of Stars

| Ifaluk Name | | Identification (Makemson) | Identification (Goodenough) | | |
|-------------|------------------------------|--|---|--|--|
| | | (1141101111011) | (Goodenough) | | |
| 1. | Wolwol li ievang | Polaris | Polaris | | |
| 2. | Mailap e li vang | Beta Ursae minoris | Beta Ursae minoris | | |
| 3. | Wileugo | Alpha Ursae minoris (Zeta Cassiopeiae) | Alpha Ursae minoris | | |
| 4. | Ugillk | Nu Ursae majoris | Alpha Cassiopeiae | | |
| 5. | Mēl | Vega-Alpha Lyrae | Vega Lyrae | | |
| 6. | Megarigari | The Pleiades (Pollux Beta Geminorum) | Pleiades | | |
| 7. | Ūlu | Aldebaran-Alpha Tauri Aldebaran (Arcturus-Alpha Bootis) | | | |
| 8. | Pauievang | Betelgeuse-Alpha Orionis (Altair-Alpha Aquilae) | Alpha Aquilae | | |
| 9. | Mailap | Belt of Orion (3 stars) | Altair (Alpha Aquilae) | | |
| 10. | Pauiauru | Spica-Alpha Virginis | Beta Aquilae | | |
| 11. | Elielî | Alpha Capricorni <u>or</u> Epsilon Leporis | Belt of Orion | | |
| 12. | Sarabwol | (Beta Fornacis) Formalhaut-Alpha Piscis Australis | Corvus ("The native constellation also includes Spica.") | | |
| 13. | Tumura | Theta Scorpii <u>or</u> Lambda Velorum <u>or</u> Alpha Phoenicis | Antares (Alpha Scorpii) | | |
| 14. | Metarua | Canopus-Alpha Carinae | A constellation in the tail of Scorpio, possibly Lambda and Kappa, or in Lupus. | | |
| 15. | Īpu | Alpha Cantauri Beta Cantauri | Crux ("rising of native constellation pwuupw-trigger fish") | | |
| 16. | Metremeital or Metremeiat | Magellanic Clouds | Crux at rising of Alpha Centauri | | |
| 17. | Wolwol li aru | | Crux upright | | |
| | | | - | | |

On any voyage, as soon as the canoe is out of the pass and far enough from the island it is leaving to be clear of currents affected by that body of land, the direction of the current in the open sea is tested. First the sheet is let go and the sail left flapping until the canoe loses headway. Then several light lines, weighted with sinkers, are lowered over the sides. Each has attached to it a

strip of coconut leaf, as shown in Fig. 18. to act as a weather vane. The lines are lowered until these strips are far enough below the surface not to be knocked about by waves, but are still in plain sight. The current will then swing them around until the longer end points in the direction in which it is flowing. The several lines provide a check on each other, and prevent the navigator from being misled by some accident, such as a swirl of water around bow or stern, that might affect one of the vanes.

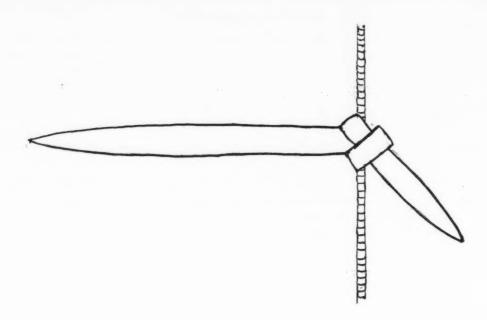


Fig. 18. Weather vane, lowered into the water to show the direction of the current.

The captain then picks his course to allow for the current. If, for example, the current is flowing from north to south, he will choose a guiding starfarther north than the true direction of the island he is heading for. Thus he guards against one of his great perils, --drifting off his course (mennaxo).

Sailing directions to a particular island include, besides guiding stars, some other information: a rear sight on Ifaluk while it remains above the horizon; choice of guiding stars according to the current; and directions for recovering a destination which has been missed. In naming the stars in these more detailed directions, Tom omitted the prefixes tagali- or tubwuli- for rising or setting, and his example has been followed.

Ifaluk to Woleai and Return

- Guiding Stars-Ulu, a little north of west. If current is flowing north, Mailap, due west; if it is flowing south, between Ulu and Mwarigari.
- Rear Sight Keep Matolo, the channel between Falarik and Falalap, "open", that is, visible throughout its length. Keep the islet Ella in such a position that 'two fathoms' of Falalap are visible to the south of it.
- Birds - If the navigator drifts off his course and 'goes to Mailap' instead of to Ulu, passing south of Woleai, he will see two small black and red birds (gerap). He must "leave them to the south"; that is, turn north from where he sees them. If the canoe drifts north, and goes to Mwarigari instead of Ulu, two white sea birds (paiennai, bigger than a fairy tern) will be seen. They must be "left on the south." Woleai will not be far, but it will be necessary to have a lookout climb the mast in order to see it. If the canoe continues on a course too far to the north, after leaving the paiennai birds, a shark will be seen of the kind called malrang, of the bright red color of turmeric face-paint. Then it will be necessary to take a course a little east of south ('east half south', Tom called it).

Stars for Return Trip - The star indicating the true direction is <u>Elieli</u>. If the current flows north, take a course between <u>Elieli</u> and <u>Mailap</u>; if it flows south, between <u>Elieli</u> and <u>Sarabwol</u>.

Further sailing directions are given in Appendix II.

Uses of Animals

In the use made of animals, as in so many other respects, the culture of Ifaluk is simple and rather narrowly specialized. Animals are used mainly for food. None of the domesticated species is adapted to use as a draught animal or in transportation. The tanning of hides is unknown, and would be of little service anyway, for leather does not keep well in that moist, warm climate.

Dogs serve mainly as pets and playthings. The play often takes the form of cruel teasing. This may serve as an outlet for pent-up aggression, a matter that belongs in Spiro's analysis of personality.

Dogs are not used in hunting. There is hardly anything to hunt except rats. The dogs hunt these on their own, but not very effectively. Apparently the cats do better at it. Rats are also caught in simple box traps with trap doors tripped by a tug on the bait. These are not much used. Spring traps bought in trade are preferred.

A necklace made of dogs' teeth is shown in one of Damm's illustrations. These are not now common; I saw none. About the only part of a domestic animal that is in common use, except for food, is feathers. A rooster's long tail feathers effectively top off a male dancer's head-dress. Tufts of smaller feathers are lashed to fish hooks for a lure. None of these uses of domestic animals involves any noteworthy development of technology.

Wild animals, particularly sea creatures, are used in more varied and ingenious ways. The skin of the fish called <u>rel</u>, which has a silvery gleam in some lights, is wrapped around the shanks of fish hooks to serve as a

lure, usually in connection with a tuft of feathers.

Shell, both of turtles and molluscs, is cut into various ornaments; bracelets, ear-rings, pendants, necklaces, and little chains hung from holes in the ear-lobes. The Hamburg expedition collected a considerable variety of these, some of them no longer common. Disc-shaped beads in contrasting colors--white from trumpet shell, dark brown from tortoise shell--form necklaces and women's belts. A simple bow drill, nowadays tipped with steel, is used to perforate the shell. The discs are cut out by twirling between the hands a long-handled steel gouge. The belts are made of four to six strands of beads, the white shell forming a variety of rectilinear patterns against the background of dark turtle-shell. Most of the belts worn on Ifaluk come from Eaurupik, which makes a specialty of this craft.

Pearl shell and turtle shell are combined in the bonito hook (pa). This is of a type widespread in Oceania. It is composed of two pieces, a pearl-shell shank and a turtle-shell point. In the thick end of the shank a hole is bored to attach the line. (As this end is nearer the fisherman when in use, it is convenient and customary to call it the proximal end.) Little grooves are cut in the sides of the distal end to hold the lashings which attach the turtle-shell point. There are two of these lashings. In a specimen collected on Ifaluk, which is now in Bishop Museum, Honolulu, both lashings pass through holes in a proximal projection of the point. Damm illustrates both this type and another, which has only one hole, for the distal lashing. In this type the proximal lashing passes entirely around the projection of the point, which flares out at the end to keep the lashing from slipping off.

Local variations in attachment of point to shank on bonito-hooks have been studied by Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. Peter H. Buck). Following his lead, the writer compared types in different parts of Polynesia (Burrows, 1938), and came to the conclusion that the type with two holes in a proximal projection of the point was invented in western Polynesia. Its occurrence as far west as Ifaluk throws doubt on that conclusion. Fuller data from Micronesia will probably make possible a clearer reconstruction of the invention and diffusion of bonito hooks in Oceania.

The shank is shaped like the body of a small fish. This, and its pearly gleam, quite like that of a fish's skin and scales, make it a most effective

lure. As Buck has pointed out, shanks can be varied in color by grinding off more or less of the outer layers of the shell. This is done deliberately, and the fisherman chooses which hook to use according to the light at the moment, or the kind of small fry on which the bonito are feeding, or by trial and error. Three names for hooks of different colors were told to me on Ifaluk: renifar, with yellowish lustre; alo, bluish; and reneverale, reddish or coppery. Damm lists four names collected by Sarfert, none of which corresponds to these. Probably both lists are correct as far as they go, but incomplete.

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As an additional lure, many bonito hooks have, lashed to the distal end, a tuft of feathers or of white fibers from the roots of the plants called guan and bogo li le pa.

As recently as 1909, the time of Sarfert's visit, all the adz heads were of Tridacna shell, lashed with sennit to wooden handles cut from a forked branch. In 1948 no shell adz heads were to be found. Similar handles and sennit lashing are used to attach steel plane blades.

Conch shells are used as trumpets (taui). In Ifaluk the hole used for a mouthpiece is made, not by cutting off the pointed end, but by drilling in one side. The long-drawn monotone of such a trumpet summons the people to public meetings, and warns off evil in several rituals. One trumpet hangs from a branch of a small dead tree stuck in the ground beside the channel between the two inhabited islands. An obvious use there would be to summon a canoe from the other side for a ferry. But I never happened to see it so used. One night when a school of bonito had been surrounded by seines, natives in canoes kept several conch shell trumpets (as well as one or two navy boatswain's whistles) sounding over the lagoon all night.

Methods of capturing animals for food are varied, though mostly simple. The extreme of crudity is catching a chicken. There are no coops, and while the birds stay near the houses, they roost in trees or on rooftops, and can fly for considerable distances when alarmed. When one is doomed to be eaten, young men and children, some of them armed with sticks or stones, try to surround it or run it down. No particular skill is shown, and the process often involves a lively hue and cry. This, like a good many native activities, rates very low on any scale of efficiency, but has a high yield of fun.

More ingenious, and demanding respectable acrobatic skill, is the method of catching noddy terns. They sometimes visit the island in great numbers. At such times the men hunt them by climbing at night the coconut trees in which the terns roost, and catching them in large, light nets with short handles and round wooden rims. During our stay on the island, the terns were not considered abundant enough to repay the effort of catching them. But during our last weeks there, when we were known to be short of meat, our faithful Tom--rather along in years to be scrambling in the tree-tops--twice caught a brace of terns, which his wife cooked for our breakfast. Unplucked and bedraggled, they were not appetizing to look at. But they proved to be surprisingly tender and well-flavored.

Catching crabs is women's work. The largest and most prized variety is the coconut crab, that lives in holes about the bases of trees. It may be smoked out of the hole, or dug out with a pointed digging-stick. The people know that these crabs come out at night, and can be hunted with torches; but this way of catching them is seldom practised. Other land crabs are occasionally gathered, and several kinds of sea crabs are caught by hand on the reef at low tide.

The most prized of all meat is that of the sea turtle. The people say they are commoner on some of the other islands, notably Lamotrek and Elato, than they are on Ifaluk. On some uninhabited islands they are said to abound. During the six months we were there, four of them were taken, to our knowledge; three of these within two or three days, so that they were all cut up and cooked at the same time. Turtle meat is reserved for the clan Kovalū, in which the highest chiefly title is hereditary. Others get it only when this chief deigns to distribute it to them. Except for members of this clan, and the other chiefs, a meal of turtle meat is a rare delight.

The easiest and most favored way of catching turtle is on land at night, when they come ashore to lay their eggs. They leave easily recognizable tracks on the beach. When found on shore, they are turned over on their backs. Then they are helpless and can be dragged at the end of a line or, with manpower enough, carried. Three of the four caught during our stay were taken in this way. The fourth was speared, we were told, by the chief WolpaitIk. How he managed to drive a spear through the shell, or whether he speared the head or a flipper, I was unable to make out. After WolpaitIk had speared it, I was told, another man dived and speared it from beneath. It is said that turtles are sometimes caught by running a noose of rope about the head and one of the fore-flippers. Tom--apparently as much for fun as anything else--once attempted to catch a turtle in the lagoon by riding it ashore. He could not guide it, and as it took him toward deep water, he gave up the attempt.

Butchering a turtle is a job performed only by the highest chief. The proper place for it is between the canoe-house called Fan ni Wong (House of the Turtle), and the neighboring homestead, Uelepi, associated with the senior lineage of the Kovalū clan. Asked, in the presence of the chiefs, whether this association of turtles with the highest chief had any religious significance, Tom rather contemptuously denied it. Yet the pattern of associating turtles with high rank, which is widespread in the Pacific, is in some places explicitly religious. As a matter of fact, Tom begrudged the Kovalū clan's monoploy on turtle, and would be inclined to belittle the privilege in any way he could. He once spoke longingly of a visit to the uninhabited islands, where a man could eat all the turtle he could catch. Yet if the reservation of turtle for Kovalū clan, and the butchering by the highest chief, was thought of as explicitly religious, he would hardly have denied it.

The high chief, Wolpetau, made one job of butchering the three turtles that were caught within a few days. Before he cut them up, the first to be

caught was left on its back, alive, for three days; the second for two days; the third, for approximately one. Two of the turtles had bodies more than three feet long. The total length of each, with head and tail extended, would have been more than four feet. The third was smaller, with a body--the part within the shell--about 30 inches long. To estimate the total weight of the meat is beyond my capacity; but it must have been fully 100 pounds, perhaps two or even three times that.

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The three turtles lay on their backs in the little grove between Fan ni Wong and Uelepi. The chief Wolpetau, with the aid of his adopted son Uveli, laid them side by side in shallow pits. The two built over them a hot, quick fire of light fuel, mostly dry coconut leaves; to kill them, I was told. After that, Wolpetau did all the work alone. He had for spectators, beside Uveli, two women of the household, his sister and niece; two young men, the niece's husband and another, not of the household, whose relationship is unknown to me; and a small boy of the household, the heir apparent to his title.

When the fire had burned down, Wolpetau hauled the first turtle out of the pit and carefully scraped off remaining bits of ash. Then, with a bush knife I had given him, he cut around the edge of the under shell, following a suture most of the way. At the tail he did not cut as close to the shell as possible, but straight across the base of the tail and the rectum. With this incision completed, he pried off the under shell.

Four iron pots were laid nearby when the work began. Two or three more were brought later. Pieces of each kind of meat were put into each pot, to be distributed as gifts. Three baskets, newly plaited of green coconut leaf, were ready, one for the intestines of each turtle. Several newly cut green leaves served as platters for the larger pieces of meat.

First to be removed were the slabs of muscle (witigo terag) overlying the fore flippers. Then the layer of green fat (ui) over the belly. The intestines (tal) were then hauled out into the basket ready for them. The fore flippers (iengal) were then neatly cut through at the joint, twisted off, and tossed on one of the open leaves. Lean meat on the lower belly (fitiu) was partly distributed among the pots, the rest thrown on the leaves. Yellow fat (sha), found here and there among the other tissues, was distributed among the pots. A big triangular piece (peral) about the base of the tail was cut in two and put on the leaves. The eggs were left in the shell. The opening of the reproductive organs was thrown away. To prevent the women from hearing, Wolpetau whispered the name of this to me so softly that I could not hear it, either. The women, the least bit ostentatiously, paid no attention.

The other turtles were now cut up in the same way. Butchering all three made a fairly strenuous afternoon's work for an elderly man. The meat in the pots was cut up and cooked by the women. The largest pieces, those laid on the open leaves, were cooked in an earth oven (um). There was enough meat this time for quite a generous distribution. Not only was one of the pots brought to us, but a small basketful was given to Tom, who ate it all himself.

Fishing

Fishing, which involves a greater variety of techniques and apparatus than all the rest of the food quest, is men's work; almost exclusively, but not quite. Women rummage on the reef for crabs, shellfish and any fish which may have been left in shallow pools by the outgoing tide. Another kind of fishing they do is an extension of that process. It consists of surrounding with a mat or screen of coconut leaf a slab of coral that stands in shallow water. When it is all fenced in, they move the slab. There is an incantation to lighten this work:

Gerige vaul!
Tro le gurok bweje waje!
Io! Gaje va! Eu i langeia!

Come now, stone!
Like a gurok leaf, be light!
Oho! Be light! Rise up!

When the fish dart out from under the slab, they are stopped by the coconut leaf barrier, and caught in dip-nets.

It is said that women also make temporary fish weirs of plaited coconut leaf, which they set out along the reef, weighting the leaves down with blocks of coral. This is apparently not a common practise, at least during the part of the year when we were there. I never saw it done. The secondary part that women play in a bonito drive will be described later.

Men's kinds of fishing are so numerous that probably this account does not include all that are known and occasionally practised. The list of fishing methods noted by Sarfert during his short stay on Ifaluk includes several I did not hear of, --as my list includes several not in his. Having learned elsewhere about fishing with a baited hook attached to a kite flown over the water, he asked the people of Ifaluk about it, and was told it was known and practised there. But we saw none of it. He was also told of catching shark with a noose, which is spread out, while a separate line run across it holds a smaller fish used for bait. No shark were caught during our stay, except for small sand-shark occasionally rounded up in seines or caught on a hook. He also lists fishing with poison as a technique learned from Yap. My question about this was answered in the negative. Ifaluk has a few Barringtonia trees, whose crushed fruit is used elsewhere for fish poison. The people told me they knew of this method being practised elsewhere, but did not use it themselves. And indeed, in the absence of fresh-water streams, which make narrow channels in the fringing reef, I know of no suitable enclosed spaces in the water where the poison could be effectively concentrated.

Another method described by Sarfert--and attested by specimens of tackle used--consists of fishing for flying-fish with double-pointed gorges. These were attached by short lines to empty coconut shells, plugged so they would stay afloat. A number of them were tossed into the water. The bobbing of the shell showed when a fish was caught on one of the gorges.

Bits of young coconut leaf serve as lures, a detail not noted by Sarfert. The following incantation accompanies this fishing technique, which is called mat

Sau a li go!
Sau e li var!
Go tami le i meraku!
Gou wa li geru a!
Mwa ramu gatagei alo!
Ta pere la getriou.
Nge nutu nge nut',

Nutu fe li pale
Hutu range rang'.
Tru eru ge le mwanne!
Saū e li var!
Go tai ninge mware ru e pa.

Go ninge mware rueik.

Come, flying-fish!
Come bite my hooks!
Do not delay!
Come at once!
Hurry, before the sun comes up,
And the red getriou buds open.
Up and down swim the hooked fish,

They rise to the hook,
They fly out of the water.
Come through the water!
Come bite my hooks!
It is not good, two pieces of white leaf.

Nowadays steel hooks are used instead of wooden gorges. Foreign hooks have also--so far as my observation goes--replaced two other types collected by Sarfert: simple recurved hooks of tortoise shell, and large wooden ones

It is in good with twenty.

for shark.

The native composite trolling hook is still in use. Wooden boxes with fitted lids (sawe le pā) with one or more hooks in them, were hanging up in all the canoe-houses.

Trolling for bonito has the greatestemotional appeal of any kind of fishing to judge by the fact that 5 out of 16 fishing songs collected celebrated feats of bonito trolling. No other kind of fishing had more than two songs. Yet this kind of fishing was not once undertaken during our stay. Weather may account for this. Trolling has to be done in small canoes outside the lagoon, and is only feasible during fairly calm weather; and a good deal of the calmest weather comes during the part of the year when we were absent. Yet the people did not say that this was a seasonal kind of fishing; only that wind and sea had to be just right. Having worked in two Polynesian islands where this strenuous kind of fishing had gone out of use, I wonder whether it is on the decline in Ifaluk.

Enough was learned about it to indicate that it follows the same general pattern as in Polynesia. The poles are of bamboo, most of which has to be imported. The lines, said to have been made of hibiscus bast before foreign lines were available, are about the same length as the pole. The presence of a school of bonito is often indicated by a flock of sea birds—in Ifaluk the white fairy tern and the black noddy—hovering over to catch the small fry as they leap out of water to escape the bonito. The canoe paddles over the school, and

the fisherman--one in the stern of each canoe--lets out his line astern, resting the pole in the forked head of the canoe or sometimes against his body. The pole is tilted at such an angle that the hook skitters along the surface of the water.

As he lets out the hook, the fisherman holds the pole with one hand, while with the other he splashes water over the lure. This throws a screen of water between the hook and the boat, so that the bonito which sees the hook will not see the boat just beyond it and be scared away. The fisherman keeps up this splashing while he is in the school, when not too busy hauling in fish.

When a fish strikes the hook, it is hauled in with one motion. The tip of the pole is raised, lifting the fish out of water, then swung around slowly, in order not to frighten away the other fish—until the fisherman is facing the bow, when he lets the fish strike against his chest, which knocks it off the barbless hook into the bottom of the boat. Failing this, the sailor sitting nearest him may remove the fish from the hook. It must be done quickly, for the canoe is only in the middle of the school for a short time, and the fisherman must make the most of that time.

Several bits of religious or magical procedure accompany this kind of fishing. Before they set out, the fishermen must bathe carefully, to remove any odor of the body or perfume of their wives or sweethearts. Once a fisherman takes a pearl-shell out of its box, he must have no contact with a woman until he has returned from fishing. As he sets out, he waves a branch of aro, and sings a prayer to a god, to vouchsafe him a good catch. No one god has power over bonito-trolling, but each fisherman sings to a god whom he considers favorable to him. Leaves of aro may be rubbed over the body and on the lure. The fishermen may adorn themselves—as men do on any social occasion—with strips of white young coconut leaf. This leaf is also displayed on the return trip as a sign of success. As will be seen later, some of these precautions and bits of ritual also accompany other kinds of fishing.

A similar kind of trolling is practised from large sailing canoes over reefs within sailing distance of Ifaluk. The most frequented, called Vasulös, lies about an overnight sail from Ifaluk, a little west of north. This reef is also called Faiaulap or Great Faiau. One trip there was made during our stay on the island. The catch consisted of one yellow-fin tuna, weighing perhaps 100 lbs. This was the only tuna caught during our stay, and its flesh is highly prized; yet one fish was considered hardly worth the effort of the long trip. It was also reported that the seas were breaking over the reef, so the expedition was not repeated during our stay. The time was December 6, early in the trade-wind season. Calmer seas are to be expected near the end of that season, and such expeditions may be more frequent at that time. Species commonly caught by this kind of fishing, besides yellow-fin tuna, are albaçore, pompano (Hawaiian ulua), and wahoo (Hawaiian ono).

Hook and line are also used for angling about coral heads in the lagoon, a method practised mostly by solitary fishermen who expect no greater catch

than will make a family meal. Casting along the shore, with small hooks, is another minor kind of fishing. Occasionally, at low tide, men will cast into the surf at the outer edge of the fringing reef on the eastern side of the atoll. However, as they have no reels, and use lines not much longer than the poles, the casts are short.

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Fish traps, (<u>ul</u>), are made of wattle. The frames are of light withes. Coconut leaflet midrib, commonly doubled, is used to fill in the walls. The pieces are lashed together with light sennit cord. There are two distinct sizes, differing in name and use.

The smaller traps, ul pam, average 2 or 3 feet long and 1 or 2 feet high. The general shape is diagrammed in Fig. 19 a and b. These are set on the bottom in the shallow water near shore on the lagoon side. They are weighted down by pouring sand over them. Most of it sifts through, but some stays on the bottom of the trap and some on the top. It also gives the trap a natural appearance, like that of the surrounding bottom. These traps are baited with crushed crab of the small kind called ragum. The fish most commonly caught in them is the oerlk, a fish averaging four to six inches long, schools of which appear suddenly in the lagoon, stay for a time, and then as suddenly vanish. The fish are cooked whole on green leaves laid over the usual light fire of rubbish. Before eating, they are cleaned by removing the heads, tails, skins, and the spine with entrails. Thus it takes several fish to make a mouthful. In spite of their small size they make very good eating. For over a month, beginning in mid-November and continuing through December into January, they constituted the main supply of fish. Occasionally other fish are caught in these traps. The best catch seen numbered a dozen or more fish of fairly good size, up to about a foot long. They were reef fish of various kinds, mostly parrot-fish and goat-fish.

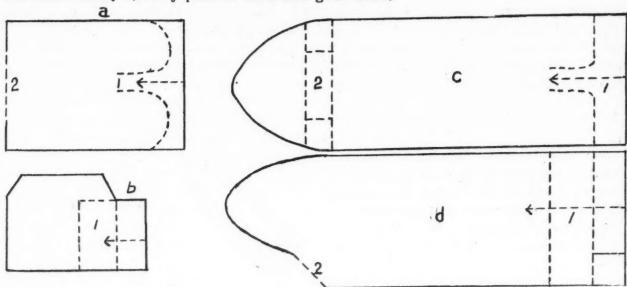


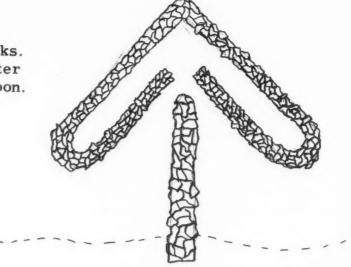
Fig. 19. Fish traps. a. small trap, plan; b. small trap, side elevation. c. large trap, plan; d. large trap, side elevation. l. narrow entrance; 2. door for removing fish.

The larger traps, ul meroua or merouel, run about 6 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet high (Fig. 19, c and d). They are carried out to sea in sailing canoes to search for drifting logs, which attract certain kinds of fish. When a log is sighted, the men dive overboard and fasten the trap to it. It is said that huge catches are sometimes made in this way, but during our stay the canoes went out day after day without so much as finding a log; and only twice did they have fair success. The largest catch reported was '200'. The largest seen numbered about 100, rather small fish, mostly of the kind called rel, with a few larger fofo. Fish caught in this way are laid directly on the coals and broiled whole. We were warned not to put them in our frying-pan, for if we did there would be no more driftwood.

These large traps are also sometimes set on the seaward side of the reef. Tom described a bit of ritual accompanying their use. When driftwood is sighted, a half coconut shell is attached to a stick called <u>merouel</u>, and an incantation sung over it. Then stick and shell are put inside the trap. Nothing was said about bait being put in the shell.

The only kind of fishing device that is constantly in use is a permanent weir (gamei) built of blocks of coral. These are set up along the beach on the lagoon side of FalarIk, --evidently the shore of Falalap is not considered suitable for them, perhaps because most of it, instead of sandy beach, is irregular, shelving more steeply, and of coarse gravel. The shape of a gamei as indicated in Fig. 20, is something like a broad arrowhead. They are made with their points away from shore. The single wall that would correspond to the shaft of the arrow extends out from approximately high water mark. The double walls, corresponding to barbs of an arrowhead, average 30 to 35 feet long. At high tide they are covered with a foot or two of water; at low tide they rise out of water from a few inches to about a foot. Fish that come close to shore at high tide, mostly by night, are expected to follow the single wall to seaward as the tide goes out, and so to be led into the V-shaped space between the double walls. When the water is below the top of the walls, they can not escape.

Fig. 20. Fish weir of coral blocks. The dotted line indicates high water mark on the beach facing the lagoon. The arms of the weir are 50 feet long, more or less.



During our stay on Ifaluk (late July to early February), there was only one catch of consequence in such a weir, and that in only one out of four of them. On the morning of December 15 we were given five fish out of a catch estimated by Maroligar at 100. The largest, somewhat less than a foot long but not improbably the best of the lot, was one of the several kinds that in Hawaii would be called papio or--in a restaurant--"baby ulua." The others seemed to me to be horse mackerel--in Hawaii akule; but Maroligar insisted they were not the same as the picture of akule in Hosaka's book.

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Someone took a glance at each of the gamei every morning; but no one was disappointed to find them empty. It is only on rare occasions, when a run of small fish enters the lagoon, that the weirs are sometimes so full that the fish can be scooped out by the netful. However, the labor of building them has to be expended only once, after which a little repair work now and then will keep them in working condition indefinitely. Good catches, even though they come months apart, are worth that much trouble.

The kinds of fishing that require the largest number of men, and yield most of the large catches of fish, are done with nets. In one of the commonest and most productive methods, dip-nets are used for the final catch, but the fish are first herded together by what amounts to a movable weir. It is made of a long line of sennit rope and a number of green coconut leaves, which are split, and the halves tied along the line. Men wade out with it into shallow water, usually in the lagoon. They extend it to its full length, then sweep as large an area as it will cover by bringing the ends together. One end may be anchored, and the other brought around to meet it; but more often, within my observation, both ends were moved. The projecting coconut leaflets scare the fish, and drive them ahead of the line as it is pulled in and the circle narrowed. When the fish are enclosed in quite a small space, they are scooped up with dip-nets.

This technique, carried out on a small scale, is called <u>sengango</u>; on a larger scale, <u>rop</u>. Although it sometimes fails, it is the most reliable resource yet mentioned. When a good supply of fish is wanted for some special occasion, such as a feast on the completion of some public task, the kind of fishing tried is as often <u>rop</u> as any other.

Whether the word <u>rop</u> is a loan from English, or whether the resemblance to our "rope" is a coincidence, I could not make out. The latter seems more likely. It is used only for the method of fishing, not for sennit rope in any other connection. This fishing technique is widespread--essentially the same as Hawaiian <u>hukilau</u>, for instance--so it is presumably ancient. A study of the distribution of the technique and the name would probably clear up this question.

The most important fishing done with dip-nets, and the technique attended with more formality and ceremony than any other, is catching flying-fish by torchlight. This kind of fishing, with all its institutional elaboration, is called <u>turu</u>.

When the trade-wind season, called <u>vang</u> or <u>seu e vang</u>, has about three months to go, the chiefs may order the observance of <u>turu</u>. This is not done every year. The only consideration mentioned as determining whether it should be done or not was that <u>turu</u> is observed "when there is plenty of food." Since there is always plenty of taro and coconuts--except after a typhoon-and since breadfruit is out of season at this time, I could not make out the meaning of this statement. It might refer to an observed abundance of flying-fish. But the same factor--abundance of food--is also said to determine the time when men's dances are performed. It seems to be a conventional explanation for a decision made "on impulse"--that is, based on an indefinite variety of factors.

During the observance of <u>turu</u>, all the men sleep in the canoe-houses or, formerly, the men's house. They are forbidden to enter the dwellings in which women sleep, or to have sexual intercourse. They may not eat preserved breadfruit (<u>mar</u>). It is permissible to eat fresh breadfruit, if there is any; but there would never be much at this time of year. Their principal food is taro--both <u>pulax</u> and the scarcer <u>wot--and</u> coconuts. The food is cooked by the women, who bring it to the canoe-houses, but leave it outside, being forbidden to enter. The observance lasts for three moons.

The technique of fishing principally associated with turu involves preparation of many torches of dried coconut leaves, which are rolled into bundles and fastened by wrapping and tucking in the leaflets. Canoes, each supplied with plenty of these torches, go out of the lagoon on calm nights, fishing in the open sea, mostly not far from the seaward side of the reef. They light the torches, which have given their name, turu, to the whole observance. The light attracts the flying-fish. While some of the men handle the torches, and others manage the canoes, the most skillful wielders of dip-nets catch the fish as they swim about the boat. An occasional one may be caught in mid-air, as it flies over the boat or strikes against a sail; but the main supply is dipped out of the water.

How Maur Learned to Catch Flying-Fish

Serving as a charter for this institutional kind of fishing is a myth which attributes its origin to Maur, leader and orator of ancient times, and ancestral holder of the second chiefly title, which descends in the Sauvelarik clan. The myth as told to me follows:

Maur went to Woleai, took a wife there, and had a son, who lived on the islet Falāris, while Maur and his wife lived on one of the other islands. One day Maur went over to Falāris to see his son, taking with him his sleeping mat and wooden pillow (ulul), which he prized highly.

When he returned, at nightfall, and opened out the sleeping-mat, he was much disturbed to find that the wooden pillow was not in it.

It could not be found in the house, or anywhere about, so he decided that it must have been lost overboard on the journey from Falaris. Taking a supply of torches, he shoved off again in his canoe to search for the pillow.

Attracted by the light of the torch, flying-fish gathered about the boat, thick as mosquitoes. Some of them flew against the sail and fell into the canoe. Maur attached a dip-net to a long pole and scooped out many of the fish that were swarming in the water about the canoe. When he came back, his pillow had been found; and he brought in a notable catch of fish.

"How did you get them?" he was asked.

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"Let all the people assemble," he replied, "and I will teach them."

When the people gathered around, he showed them how to make the dip-nets and attach a long handle to them, and how to prepare coconut-leaf torches. And they went out and caught many flying-fish.

When Maur came back to his home on Ifaluk he brought with him the knowledge of this new kind of fishing. From Ifaluk and Woleai it spread to other islands; to Faraulep, and Aurupik (Eaurupik), and Sorol, and Yap. The lore even reached distant Nauru. But to this day many islands have not mastered it. Nearby Lamotrek is one of them. Satawan, Puluwat, and many others, still do not know how to catch flying-fish by torchlight.

Sarfert collected a version of this myth, somewhat less detailed and with minor variations, but in essentials the same as the one just given.

Not only are flying-fish prized as food; they are also used as bait to catch larger species. Large hooks are attached to stout lines, baited with flying-fish, weighted with coral sinkers, and lowered to considerable depths in the open sea near the seaward side of the reef. The species caught are tangeri, yellow-fin tuna; ngal, wahoo or (Hawaiian) ono; and aule, "a big, fat one," probably albacore. This kind of fishing supplements the netting of flying-fish by torchlight, and so forms part of the institutional turu.

Coconut-leaf torches are also used for fishing in shallow water without canoes; either wading in the lagoon near the beach, or walking at low tide on the exposed reef, where fish may be impounded in shallow pools. Usually three to six people accompany each light. Only men and boys were seen when the fishing was in the lagoon. For scouring the reef, some of the groups were also made up entirely of men, but others were household parties including women. The torch is usually carried in the left hand of the most expert fisherman. In his right hand he carries a dip-net. One of the others carries a basket to hold the fish; another a bundle of spare torches. Some kinds of fish, especially limen, may be struck with bush knives. Spears are not used in this kind of fishing. One of the fish most commonly taken with

dip-net in the lagoon is the needle-fish, which swims near the surface. Scouring the reef yields a greater variety. Crabs and molluscs may also be picked up there:

Casting-nets are known in Ifaluk, but little used. As it happens, I just once saw a man walking along the beach with a casting-net over his shoulder; and did not see him throw it. His net, and the others seen in the canoe-houses, were of imported cotton netting. This, and the fact that Damm does not mention casting-nets, suggest that they may be a recent introduction.



Fig. 21. Shuttle used in making fish nets. (Shuttles of the same form, but usually of hard wood instead of bamboo, are used in weaving.)

Seines (<u>ating</u>) are among the most important of all fishing devices on Ifaluk. Seine-making is men's work, nearly always carried on in the canoehouses. Sennit cord of the common size called <u>golgol</u> is wound on a netting needle or shuttle (<u>zap</u>) of a form widespread in the <u>Pacific</u>. Most of those on Ifaluk are cut out of a piece of split bamboo, from 1 foot to 18 inches long and about 2 inches wide. At each end prongs extend from the sides and nearly meet in the middle, leaving only a narrow opening for the cord(Fig. 21). The meshes are kept equal in size by use of a gage (<u>af</u>). It is a slab of wood like a stubby ruler, averaging perhaps 5 inches long, 2 inches wide and 1/4 inch thick. The mesh of the nets is about 4 inches.

The seines are made in sections 2 1/2 to 3 feet wide. The first row of loops is attached to a stick that acts as a spreader. This is suspended from one of the tie-beams of the canoe-house. Other rows of loops are added downward. The knot used is illustrated in the Damm report. Two sections are joined to give the complete seine a width of 5 or 6 feet.

A row of wooden floats is attached along what will be the upper side. Most of these are plain blocks or slabs, but some are carved in ornamental shapes. A crude representation of a fish is one of the commonest. The other side is weighted with coral sinkers, unworked.

The length of a seine can be extended indefinitely. Two sizes are recognized. The longer ones, called <u>ausepa</u>, measured by pacing off a number of them spread on the ground to dry, average a little less than 200 feet. The shorter ones, called <u>ating e sau</u>, run less than half that long, with considerable variation among them. The people make the distinction that an <u>ating e sau</u> can be cast several times in a day, while one cast of an <u>ausepa</u>

is a day's work. For the largest operations, such as rounding up a school of bonito, a number of seines are stretched end to end, and further extended by lines of rope at both ends and across any gaps between seines in the middle. The length of such a barrier is limited rather by available manpower than by material. We never saw all the seines of Ifaluk in use at one time. Judging by the two bonito drives seen, a total length of half a mile for seines and rope is not uncommon.

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For shorter casts, single seines may be used in the same way as the leaf-fringed lines in <u>rop</u> fishing. Or two seines, usually of the shorter size, may be used to extend the sides of a short section of net which is doubled and then sewed along the lower edge to form a pocket. When stretched straight, these form a V-shaped barrier with the pocket-shaped piece at the apex. An enclosure is formed by bringing together the outer ends of the seines which form the arms of the V. This is then narrowed by hauling in the seines in the usual way. When all the fish are driven into a small space near the apex, they are taken out, first by dip-nets, and finally lifting the pocket-shaped net out of water and dumping the fish into a canoe.

The climax of seine fishing comes when a school of bonito enters the lagoon. Indeed, though less celebrated in songs than trolling (which better displays individual prowess), and less attended with myth and ritual than torchlight expeditions for flying-fish, such an occasion involves more people (virtually all able-bodied individuals), and when successful yields a greater quantity of food than any other fishing. We saw two such drives. The first ended in failure, but the second was a success, capturing the whole school. That worked up a higher pitch of public excitement than any other event of our six months' stay on the island.

Except for the outcome, the course of events was much the same during the two drives, one August 1, the other August 9. The following account is pieced together from notes taken on the two days. The actual catch and succeeding activities were witnessed, of course, only once.

Both times the fish were sighted early in the morning. It takes a skilled eye to distinguish the little ripple or swirl made by a school of bonito from all the other surface movements of the water; but the difference is so important that the male population has life-long practise at it. Months later, a false alarm had the men out on the beach or in canoes for a while, until the disturbance was found to be made by small fry. The first time, the announcement was made by boys, who sped by in three canoes, shouting the glad tidings. Tom said afterward that the cry is Garangap e! (Bonito ho!) The second time, it was Maroligar, No. 2 chief, always an early riser, who first saw the school of fish. It is one of his functions to take charge of a bonito drive. He hurried to the nearest canoe-house and bellowed at the top of his voice to call out the men. To us, in our tent close beside the same canoe-house, it seemed that they took their time about getting there. Certainly they showed no such amazing speed as did the immediate neighbors

on the one occasion when I saw a thatched roof catch fire. Still, they probably turned out as fast as they well could for what was apt to be a long day's work.

The first task was strenuous: hauling canoes from the canoe-houses into the water; unrolling seines, which are stowed on the tie-beams in balls some three feet in diameter; dragging them to the water--with men strung a few yards apart along them--and piling them into the boats; then heading for the rendezvous where they hoped to surround the school.

Meanwhile the women began their contribution. Gathered in several groups near shore, they sang and danced their serenade, the bwarux, with beckoning motions of the hands and erotic swinging of the hips. Primarily this dance is performed by one woman for one man, her sweetheart, in the utmost privacy. The very name bwarux is not uttered by people of either sex in the presence of the other. It is only on this occasion, so far as we saw, that it is performed in chorus and in public. (One other time at a men's dance, several women sang a bwarux, by way of applause and encouragement, but did not dance it.)

Later inquiry about the purpose of this performance brought only the usual answer that it was an ancient custom. My guess is that the song and dance were addressed to the men, to cheer them on, rather than with any magic purpose in mind. The words may be those of any well-known love song. Once when I passed close to a group as they sang, their giggles and sidelong glances suggested that they were improvising words about me.

There are four places about the edge of the lagoon where the impounding of a school of bonito is said to be feasible. One is a little bay off the beach of Falārik district. The second is the bay called Le, opposite the men's house in Rauau district. The third is the shallow water next to the beach on Falālap, just north of the largest canoe-house on that island called Gavilea. The fourth is a bay near the northernmost point of the uninhabited islet Ellā. The one used on both occasions during our stay was that off the shore of Falālap. It is nearer the pass than the sites off Falārik; the line of seines when fully extended there nearly shuts off the pass. It is nearer the canoe-houses then the site of Ellā. Whether these were the reasons for using it I could not make sure. It seems not to be a matter of where the school is first sighted, for the fish swim fast, and on both occasions made the circuit of the lagoon more than once.

The men stretched a line of seines, with intervals of rope, from one canoe to another, forming a barrier that extended from the shore nearly due west to the pass. At this stage on the first day there were 22 canoes in the line, ranging in size from the smallest to big sailing canoes. The number increased later to 33, then 37, but some of these were in other parts of the lagoon, trying to round up the school of fish, which escaped at least twice. The largest number of canoes counted in action at one time was 46; 26 of them in the line of seines and rope, the others driving the fish toward the barrier.

The next step, that of bringing the ends of the line of nets around the school of fish, is slow and hazardous. Towing or hauling the nets is hard work and can not be hurried. At this stage the women take a more active part, wading out to help pull the nets. This interferes with the dance, but they go on singing. Partly towed by canoes, partly hauled by lines of men and women, the nets were swung around and their ends hauled in until they formed a crescent with its points toward shore. By the time this was accomplished on the first day, it was too late to complete the catch before dark. So the ends of the net were pulled together, leaving the fish impounded. All night canoes moved about the circle of nets. Conch trumpets and boatswain's whistles were blown, apparently to keep them from escaping. But they did escape, not only from the nets but from the lagoon, into the open sea.

On the afternoon of the second day, after several escapes, the school was herded into the space between the crescent of nets and the beach, and kept there while the two ends of the crescent were hauled ashore. The hauling continued, bringing the fish into shallower water, closer and closer to shore. Soon they could be plainly seen whirling about within the narrowing barrier. The top of the net was sometimes lifted where they came near, or they were frightened back by shouts and splashing.

The excitement mounted. All the men were shouting orders at each other. Many of the men had managed to deck themselves with young white coconut leaf during the slow hours earlier in the day. The women who were not hauling on the line came dancing down to the beach, swinging their hips in wider circles than ever. The ranking chief and the foreign observer, as they stood on the beach, were ardently wooed behind their backs.

Some of the big blue fish began to flop ashore. Men and women ran down, seized them by the tail with one hand and ran a finger of the other under a gill-cover, then tossed them up on the bank. Others were seized and thrown from the water. Sometimes the chiefs order the use of spears at this stage; but this time they decided that the catch could be managed better without them.

The whole catch was carried, some in canoes and some by hand to the space in front of the men's house, and laid in a great heap. People took time out to breathe and bathe, and eat a hasty snack.

After dark, by the light of a fire of dry coconut leaves, the catch was counted and distributed. The total number was 311 (at least one had previously been given away, to the anthropologists). Garegeligar,*priest and healer, seemed to be in charge of the distribution, though he is not a chief. (He never missed a chance of being the center of attention.) The counting and tossing the fish into piles was begun by the lowest ranking chief, Toromann. He handled the fish one at a time, calling out the count. When he tired, his place was taken by one of the strongest men, who handled the fish in pairs, one in each hand. The count was called out in the same way, except for the tens; that is, after nine came twenty, after the second nine, forty, and so on.

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^{*} Spiro's spelling Arogeligar.

The first distribution was made by districts: Falalap, then Rauau, then FalarIk. Within each district there seemed to be a count of heads, by households; at any rate, it was said that one fish was allotted to each person. As the pile for each district was finished, young men came up, bowing low in deference to the authority represented by the occasion (though only the lowest-ranking chief was taking part), and carried the fish away.

There were plenty of fish left, so the distribution continued. First five small piles were counted out, one for each of the chiefs. Then three larger piles, one for each of the most populous and highest-ranking clans: Kovalū, Sauvelārīk Mangaulevar. The other five clans were ignored in this allottment, though the lowest chiefly title belongs in one of them. However, that clan, Rapevelū, has less than half as many members as any of the ranking three.

Still a few fish were left. I did not make out on what basis they were allotted, but they were divided into little piles, and taken away by young men, like the others.

The people scattered to their homes, but not to sleep. Those who had not taken part in the distribution had been busy preparing earth-ovens (um), not in the cook-sheds behind the dwellings, but on the foreshore near the beach. Shallow pits were hollowed in the sand. Piles of dry firewood were brought from the cook-sheds, and supplemented by dry coconut husks; and fires were laid and kindled in the pits. When the fires were going well, basketfuls of coral gravel were thrown over them to be heated. Meanwhile the bonito had been cleaned, cut into large pieces and made into bundles with wrappers of banana and breadfruit leaf. When fires were well burned down, the bundles were laid over the hot coral and the whole covered over with coconut leaf and earth. There they stayed for what was left of the night. (This traditional kind of cooking is no longer used to prepare ordinary meals in the cook-sheds, but only for special tasks like cooking large fish and turtles.)

Early next morning, the pits were still covered, but the people were busy making racks (fang) to smoke the bonito. Four upright posts were set in the ground forming a rectangle. On top of them, at a height of about four feet, a horizontal frame was made of poles, either laid in forks on top of the posts or lashed in place with sennit. Pieces laid crisscross over this formed the rack. Most of them were of green coconut leaf midrib, which does not burn easily. The wrappers of cooked fish were laid on the rack, the top roofed over with plaited green coconut leaf, and the sides walled in with the same material, except for a low opening left on one side for feeding a smudgy fire, mostly of coconut husks. This fire was kept going as long as the supply of fish held out. Some of it, cooked over an open fire, had been eaten the night beore. (I did not see any eaten raw, but some may have been, as bonito commonly is in Japan, Hawaii, and other parts of the Pacific). From then on, smoked bonito was the daily fare for about two weeks. Gifts

made to us would spoil overnight, until we asked our neighbor Maroligar to put them on his rack. Toward the end the fish was very hard and smoky, but as long as it was kept on the racks, no more tainted than smoked and salted fish eaten in the United States.

For three days after such a catch, work is forbidden, except for that necessary in the preparation of the fish and in daily housekeeping. The tabu extends to sexual intercourse. The traditional penalty for violation applied explicitly only to men, and only when the next bonito catch involves use of the spear. The violator of the tabu will be unable, next time, to spear the fish. This is expressed in something like a proverb, a rarity in Ifaluk. Ig e vali la ig owai, the fish refuses the spear. It was compared to a woman refusing sexual intercourse.

Some indication of the relative importance of different kinds of communal fishing is given by journal entries of expeditions noted during our stay. It applies mainly to Rauau district, partly to Rauau and Falārīk together. (Falālap had a different schedule, though on the same general pattern.) The long gaps during the early months may mean that fishing was less noticed at first. Yet it is also possible that during that time most of the fishing was done individually or in small groups. That was a daily undertaking. The journal entries take no account of it, except for the use of small traps, which was a general response to the appearance of the little <u>Oerīk</u> in the lagoon.

Fluctuations that appear in the list are not necessarily seasonal, as some kinds of fish come and go at irregular intervals. Indeed, the kind of fishing that is most strictly seasonal, torchlight expeditions for flying-fish, is not noted at all, as it was never witnessed. It comes at the end of the trade-wind season, when we were not there.

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- Aug. 1. Bonito in lagoon. Left in the circle of nets overnight.
- Aug. 2. The school of bonito got away during the night.
- Aug. 9. Bonito in lagoon again. All caught late in the day.
- Sept. 6. One turtle caught.
- Sept. 20. Men of all districts fished night and morning for feast in connection with religious ceremony. (The kind of fishing was not noted because of concentration on the ceremony.)
- Oct. 6. Big rop fishing, 8 to 10 canoes. Small catch.
- Oct. 11. Rop fishing by men of Rauau. Good catch, estimated at 200. Reef fish, many of them parrot-fish.
- Oct. 13. Three sailing canoes put out with traps, looking for driftwood. Found none.
- Oct. 14. One canoe put out with trap; driven back by strong wind.
- Oct. 15. Canoes continue to go out at dawn every day. No luck so far.

- Oct. 19. Daily sorties with traps abandoned. Twelve canoes from Rauau, 8 from FalarIk, went out today for rop fishing. Came back early in the afternoon with a good catch, estimated at 200. Reef fish of many kinds, parrot fish predominating. Large black ulua presented to us.
- Oct. 22. Canoes from Falalap out rop fishing. Good catch; provided a feast for the men who had recently replaced a corner-post on one of the canoe-houses.
- Oct. 28. Rop fishing by Rauau men. Fair catch; '20-odd big ones and a few shovelfuls of little ones.'
- Oct. 30. For several days men in all the canoe-houses have been making big seines for Falalap.
- Nov. 6. Rather large party from Rauau and Falarik; 22 canoes counted. (Fishing probably rop.) Poor luck; reported at 50-60 fish. In the afternoon, Rauau men swept the reef near the men's house with seines. Good catch, reported at 300.
- Nov. 14. The little <u>oerIk</u> (Anchoviella?) has appeared in large numbers in the lagoon. People are setting out small traps for them. First catch noted this day. (For some time after this, use of small traps for <u>oerIk</u> was a general daily practise. It seemed to go by bursts and only conspicuous activity is noted.)
- Nov. 16. One canoe from Rauau, one from Falarlk, went out with large traps looking for driftwood. No luck.
- Nov. 18. Everybody setting out small traps, catching oerIk.
- Nov. 19. At last a good catch with a big trap, around driftwood at sea.

 Number reported at 200, which seems a standard figure for a good haul.
- Nov. 20-22. Canoes out daily after driftwood. The usual poor luck. Fish are scarce.
- Nov. 24. An unusual catch in one of the small traps, of fish bigger than oerIk, about a dozen, mostly parrot-fish and goat-fish.
- Nov. 26. A turtle came ashore at night and was caught.
- Nov. 27. Another turtle speared in the lagoon.
- Nov. 28. A third turtle caught; this one came ashore.
- Nov. 29. Wolpetau, No. 1 chief, butchered the three turtles.
- Dec. 4. Scarcity of fish continues. Canoes have been going out pretty regularly, looking for driftwood. One of them made another good catch in the big trap; about 100.
- Dec. 6. A canoe went trolling over the district reef Vasulos. Caught one yellow-fin tuna perhaps 4 feet long; but this was not considered enough for the long, hard trip. High seas reported over the reef.
- Dec. 12. The boys went out still-fishing over the fringing roof on the eastern side of Falalap, to get fish for a feast celebrating

completion of canoe-house repairs in Rauau. Used small canoes, as in solitary fishing; but went out in a body, and to an unusual place. Catch rather small, mostly the red toothy lipwaix. Supplemented at feast by a clam-like bivalve.

Dec. 13. At least two sailing canoes out this morning after driftwood.

Caught nothing. Maroligar ordered a scouring of the reef by torchlight at low tide, which came in the middle of the night.

Five lights counted on the western barrier reef. Others fished the fringing reef on the eastern side. Catch reported small.

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Dec. 15. First and only considerable catch in a coral weir. Number estimated at 100. Commonest species looked to me like horse mackerel, but identification is not certain.

Dec. 16-19. Shortage of fish continues. Canoes go out nearly every day with big traps, but find no drifting logs, though many are coming ashore on the eastern beach. Small traps are set out along the lagoon beach for oerIk; some are caught, but not many.

Dec. 20-26. Small traps set out daily for <u>oerIk</u>. No communal fishing. High seas, --a near-hurricane on the 21st. Men busy in the canoe-houses making small traps.

Jan. 2. Young men of Rauau out rop fishing. Moderate catch. Estimated at 100. This was for a feast following a ceremony on behalf of a sick woman.

Jan. 15-19. Seas calmer, some angling even on eastern fringing reef; but the daily trapping of <u>oerIk</u> seems still to furnish the main supply.

Jan. 24. No more catches of <u>oerIk</u>. They seem to have left the lagoon. Men of Rauau and FalarIk spent all day making several casts of small seine along lagoon shore. Catch small while I was watching, but later we were brought two fish big enough to make a good dinner for the two of us.

Jan. 26. Men of Rauau and Falarik spent all day on one cast with the big seine on the lagoon shore. One end anchored to a stone pier. Catch moderate, but again we were brought two fish, one of which was enough for us.

Jan. 29. Disappearance of <u>oerIk</u> seems confirmed. None have been caught for some days now, and the people have given up setting out traps for them.

Feb. 2. Men and boys of Rauau went torchlight fishing on the eastward fringing reef. Catch reported small.

Feb. 3. Another torchlight expedition on the eastward reef.

While this list has some value for illustration, it is obviously too slight a foundation for any general statement as to which kinds of fishing are most in favor or most successful. With this limitation in mind, its showing can be

roughly summarized in tabular form. Only communal methods are included, which leaves out the use of small traps for <u>oerIk</u>, casting, and most of the angling.

| Fishing Technique | Number of Mentions | Large Catches | Small Catches | Failures |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|----------|
| large traps | 9 | 2 | 0 | 7 |
| rop | 5 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| seines | 4 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| torchlight (on the reef) | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| trolling | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| angling | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |

This review of fishing methods makes it clear that the people of Ifaluk are not well supplied with fish. The lagoon, not quite a square mile in extent, is not big enough to furnish an adequate supply. The reef, too, is limited in extent. Moreover, it is inaccessible because of high surf except in calm weather. The open sea has few fish. Shallow reefs in the vicinity of Ifaluk are the best fishing grounds; but they are accessible, in native canoes, only when the wind is in the right direction, and not too strong.

CO-RESIDENCE AND KINSHIP

Discussion of the pattern of relationships among the people of Ifaluk may well begin with a list of the bonds that unite the whole population. This unit has all the characteristics ordinarily cited to define a society, community or tribe. In fact, few of the aggregations called by those names are held together by as many bonds as the people of Ifaluk. They share, to begin with, a common habitat and a common culture. Being so few, and confined within so little space, they are all personally acquainted by the time they grow up; though of course the degree of acquaintanceship varies widely. The chapter on government will show that they form a political unit; that on religion, that they make up a single church or congregation.

As a matter of fact, it seems probable that all are biologically akin. But that is according to our way of thinking, not their own. As long as they do not

recognize kinship, it does not exist as an additional bond.

Toward the enormous populations that inhabit vast lands far away-or some of them--the people of Ifaluk show a certain deference. They are used to being ruled by outsiders--Spanish, then Germans, then Japanese, and now Americans. But this does not put too great a strain on their self-esteem. They like to think that the world power with which they are affiliated is the largest and mightiest of all. Nowadays they are glad to accord that supremacy to the United States, as formerly they probably accorded it to their previous rulers. But world powers are so vast that Ifaluk people can form only a dim conception of them; and so far away that most of the talk about them is of the kind we dismiss as "academic."

The people are keenly aware of their unity, and proud of it. True, they have also some fellow-feeling for the inhabitants of neighboring atolls; "all same one people," as Tom said more than once in concluding the legends about repopulation of the neighboring islands from Ifaluk. But, as the legends also show, they like to think of themselves, and to have others think of them, as a little superior to the others. They even manage to look down, in at least two respects, on the people of Yap, who admittedly outrank them. "To talk like a Yap man" is one way of saying "to lie." And the suspicion and dissension said to prevail among different districts in Yap are contrasted with Ifaluk's solidarity.

The unity of the whole population is not exclusively a matter of relation-ships with foreigners. All the people assemble as a unit for religious and governmental meetings. All act as a unit to capture a school of bonito when one is found in the lagoon. Occasionally they undertake other common tasks. Most conspicuous of these, during our stay, was that of cleansing up the island. It was suggested, indeed, by an outsider, the American doctor, who advocated sanitation in order to reduce disease. Presumably he had in mind separate jobs of house-cleaning about the dwellings. But the chiefs took the

matter further. They ordained that all the more frequented parts of the island, including the coconut and breadfruit groves, should be, as our army calls it, policed up. The whole population went over the ground as caretakers go over a park or golf course. And the motive was the very local pride we have been discussing. They wanted to get a higher rating for cleanliness than the other islands. It was a matter of rejoicing all around when we were able to tell them, just before our departure, "the doctor says this is the cleanest island he has seen."

In carrying out this task, and in most others, the actual working units were smaller groups. These are united, and delimited, by a variety of bonds --sex, age, occupation, common residence, kinship; in many cases by more than one of these at a time.

Groups whose membership is delimited by sex have only a temporary or intermittent existence. Usually, even then, they are united by some other bond in addition to that of common sex. Often the other bond is occupation. Groups of men or of women gather to perform some task allotted by custom to one sex alone, as fishing for men, cooking for women. Such groups disband on the completion of each task, unless they are also united by membership in the same household. Virtually all of them have the additional bond of residence in the same neighborhood. Hardly ever do all the men of the atoll, or all the women, act together without the participation of the other sex. War would bring about such a group of the men, but warfare in Ifaluk is a thing of the rather remote past.

The chiefs do indeed constitute a group, continuous though not always in session. The bonds that unite it are common rank, a common part-time occupation, and, as a rule though not necessarily, male sex and rather advanced age. Their rank seems to be the most prominent characteristic in native thought. Their common occupation, that of governing, involves a relationship to all the rest of the people. Further discussion of this activity makes up the chapter on government.

Occupation also determines groupings that are strictly temporary. Some of these, as already noted, have other bonds as well--sex, age, common residence. There are no formal permanent organizations of fishermen, canoe-builders, or specialists or any kind. Navigators from different islands, on the rather rare occasions when they meet, may gravitate together. They have a good deal in common; not only a common part-time occupation, but a common status next to that of the chiefs, and common possession of the restricted lore of seamanship. But since they meet only at long intervals, and then mostly in twos or threes, they hardly constitute a distinct group.

Some groups formed on the basis of age--those of children and (approximately) adolescents--have a more continuous existence. They are united also by common residence, for it is only the children, or the youths, of one particular neighborhood who play together regularly. Quite young children play in groups that include both sexes. (By 'quite young' is meant here old

enough to talk and be fairly sure-footed, but too young to wear clothes, which are put on at about the age when our children begin school.) But when they reach adolescence their only distinct groups are limited by sex as well. It is only the young men who form groups of any permanence. Adolescent girls, more restricted by custom to their own households, may go out together to gather pandanus leaves for a mat, or carry on some similar task; but these gatherings, like other work gangs, disband when the job is finished. Formerly when the unmarried men slept in a men's house, of which there were several at one time, or in one of the canoe-houses, they were almost continuously together. But of late they separate every night to sleep in the household of their relatives. Pre-marital sexual relationships, permitted by custom on Ifaluk as in many Pacific islands, are not carried on by groups, as in parts of Polynesia and Melanesia, but by isolated couples, who meet secretly to avoid gossip.

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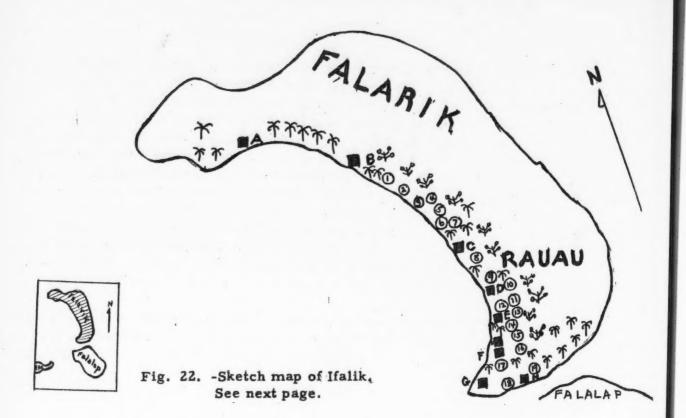
Ifaluk has nothing corresponding closely to the secret societies, guilds, or other formal associations that abound in some primitive cultures. To use the convenient term recently suggested by Lowie, Ifaluk lacks sodalities.

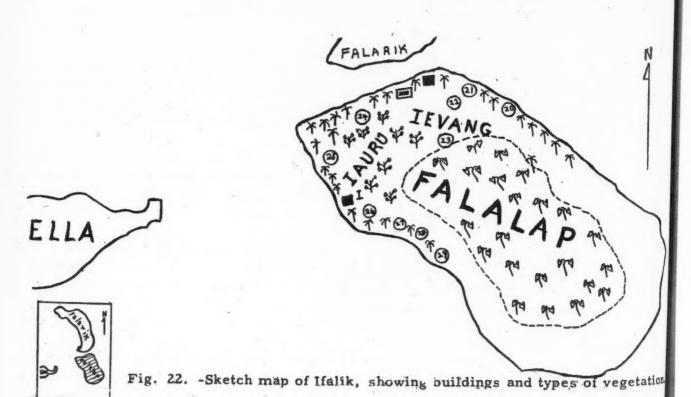
Residential Grouping

The largest territorial subdivisions of the population are determined by residence on one or the other of the two inhabited islands, Falārik and Falālap. Although some individuals have ties on both islands, and shift their residence rather freely from one to the other, nearly everyone is clearly identified, for participation in communal activities, with one or the other. The most conspicuous case of shifting residence, within our observation, was the chief Maroligar, who had close relatives on both islands. But his title involved authority over part of Falārik island, which identified him for most practical purposes, with that territorial group.

Each of the islands is further divided into two districts (gapilam). On Falarik island these are Falarik district, to the north (households 1-8 inclusive), and Rauau (households 9-19). On Falalap they are Ievang, to the north (the name means 'north'--households 20-24) and Iauru ('south' households 25-29).

In 1909 Sarfert recorded three sub-divisions in what is now called Falārik district: Sago, Gadjudolling, and Ledjourou. There are no longer any dwellings in the area corresponding to his "Sago," though the site of a former men's house is still pointed out there. "Gadjudolling" (my "Gajuteling") is the name of a canoe-house; and "Ledjourou" may well have been the name of another, for which I was given only Fan ni Wā, the generic term for "canoe-house." In Rauau, too, he collected two names for territorial sub-divisions: "Lawuau," obviously the same as my "Rauau," and Sawolob, as clearly the canoe-house name I recorded as Sabwolap."





Much of the daily activity of the atoll is carried on by, or on behalf of, permanent groups organized on the basis of common residence, or kinship, or both. In the discussion of these that follows, the source of the specific figures given here and there is a census by households, taken during our first days on the island. A rather thorough collection of genealogies, made later on by Spiro, revealed some inaccuracies in the census. So most of the figures represent the census as corrected by the genealogies.

Now the word gapilam, which I translate 'district', is used in two senses: (1) for the more formal territorial units of which there are now two on each inhabited island; and (2) for the smaller, informal neighborhoods made up of the households about each canoe-house. The canoe-houses, through their use by men and boys as club-houses, constitute neighborhood centers for the males. The obvious interpretation of the difference between Sarfert's list and mine is that he, or his interpreter, did not distinguish between these two uses of the native word. That would not be surprising, in view of his short stay on the atoll.

However, the very ambiguity of the word suggests another possibility: that what are now mere neighborhoods may have been more distinct units, perhaps even political sub-divisions, 38 years earlier. The situation on Falalap reinforces this suggestion. There the two districts, lauru and Ievang, are the same as in Sarfert's time. Some of the song-texts collected suggest a distinct consciousness of difference between them. (The age of a song, except for some quite recent ones, is impossible to determine.) But in 1947-48 they were distinct in little more than name. They were sometimes treated separately in distribution of food. But they had only one canoe-house, Gavilea in Iauru, large enough to accommodate sea-going canoes; so in communal fishing they acted as a unit, and seemed to do so in most other public activities. For most purposes the island during our stay had only three districts: Falalap as a whole and, on Falarik island, Rauau and Falarik districts. Iauru and Ievang were well along toward merging. Further evidence of a tendency to merge former subdivisions will be given in the chapter on government (pp. 177-199).

The smallest unit based on common residence is the household, except insofar as the family maintains separate residence within the household. Both these units are determined also by kinship so they will be discussed later.

The Clan

One kind of kinship tie--common descent in the maternal line--places each individual in one of eight groups called kailang. These groups have names: Kovalū, Sauvelārik, Mangaulevār, Rapevelū, Sauwel, Kailangailuk, Bwel, and Kailangalualea. They are exogamous, and this rule is strictly observed. There was no case on Ifaluk during our stay of a wife and husband both of the same kailang. Children adopted into a kailang other than

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their ancestral one may not marry members of either kailang.

Kailang exogamy is the only formal verbalized incest ban. Marriage between a girl and her father, though he is of a different kailang, seems not to occur to them as a possibility. This ban goes without saying, as it does among us. Informal exogamy will be discussed further by Spiro.

The name in commonest use for unilineal, exogamous descent groups like the kailang of Ifaluk is "clan." Clan will be used here as the translation of kailang. Since the line of descent that determines membership here is matrilineal, this group would still be called a clan in the terminology formerly common among American anthropologists, whereby a patrilineal

group was called a "gens."

Three details of pronunciation of the word kailang may be useful for comparison with related areas. First, the initial k is not only unaspirated, but pronounced so lightly that at first I did not hear it, and recorded the word as ailang. (This is the name reported for similar groups in some other islands.) Later test and inquiry showed that in Ifaluk the k is always present, or at least is thought to be. Second, in the language of Ifaluk, as commonly in neighboring islands, I and n are equivalent sounds, variants of one phoneme. So this word can be pronounced kainang as well as kailang. Third, a final vowel, though not sounded unless the next word begins with a consonant, is conceptually present. When it is sounded, it seems to be the 'neutral' (central, mid, unrounded) vowel. So one of the ways of pronouncing the word is very nearly the same as kainanga, the name for the largest descent group in some Polynesian islands. The Polynesian groups, however, are patrilineal.

The clans are not localized-that is, most of them are represented in the population of all inhabited parts of the atoll. In fact, the same clans, or most of them, are found also on neighboring atolls. Woleai is said to have the same clans as Ifaluk. I could not check this statement there, as we stopped at Woleai only on our way to Ifaluk, before we knew the clan names. But a visiting chief from Woleai, hearing that the chiefs of Ifaluk had given me their legend about the settlement of both islands, asked that my account be read and translated to him. This legend gives names of traditional founders of all the clans. The Woleai chief was already familiar with most of them, and accepted without question the one or two which, he said, had been forgotten on Woleai. At Lamotrek, where we stopped on the return trip from Ifaluk, I was given names of three clans; Sauvelarik, Mangaulevar, and Sauwel. The names are the same as far as they go, and it is quite likely that the list is incomplete. On Elato, within sight of Lamotrek, the list given me was Kovalu, Sauvelarik, Mangaulevar, Kailangalualea, Sauwel. Faraulep is also said to have the same clans, but the statement was not checked by inquiry there. The list obtained on Satawal was lost overboard, I recall one name in it which is evidently the same as an Ifaluk name, though pronounced somewhat differently: Sauvelachik. If memory can be trusted,

there were one or two others; but certainly there were also some which had no apparent resemblance to Ifaluk clan names. Satawal, then, seems to be on the border of distribution of these clans.

Because they are not localized, the descent groups on Ifaluk would be called sibs in the terminology recently proposed by Murdock. However, localization is not an all-or-nothing characteristic. It may change in degree and even appear or disappear in the same locality in the course of time. The degree of localization on Ifaluk in 1947-48 is shown in the following table, made up from the census by households. Falalap island was treated as a unit, but Falarik island divided into the two districts of Rauau and Falarik, the commonest form of local subdivision in native practise. Children recorded as adopted in this census (corrected later from Spiro's genealogies), and natives of other islands married to Ifaluk women, were not included. This because, although adoption is commonly within the clan, it is not always so, and there was doubt about the clan membership of some of the adopted children. As for natives of other islands, whatever their clan, their place of residence on Ifaluk may not exemplify local practise. In another table prepared as a test, children listed as adopted were included, assigning them to the clan of the adopting mother unless membership in some other clan was known. This table, though discarded as less accurate, brought out the same pattern of minimal localization as the one that follows.

Clan Membership by Locality

| | Falārik | Rauau | Falalap | Total |
|----------------|---------|-------|---------|-------|
| Kovalū | 2 | 25 | 17 | 45 |
| Sauvelarik | 8 | 15 | 21 | 44 |
| Mangaulevar | 20 | 11 | 23 | 54 |
| Rapevelū | 0 | 12 | 6 | 18 |
| Sauwēl | 7 | 12 | 4 | 23 |
| Kailangailuk | 9 | 12 | 2 | 23 |
| Bwel | 0 | 0 | 11 | 11 |
| Kailangalualea | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |

The general rule is clear--that clans are not localized. All the members of two clans, however, live on Falalap. In the case of Kailangalualea this has no significance, as the clan is reduced to two (or three) members; a woman, her daughter, and the latter's adopted daughter, whose clan membership is uncertain. Naturally, all three live in the same household.

The localization of the clan Bwel, however, seems more than accidental. The name bwel, as a common noun, means taro swamp. The clan Bwel is especially associated with the cultivation of taro. Traditionally no others can equal them at horticulture. Since all but a few small patches of taro

swamp are on Falalap, the localization of this clan there seems related to this traditional function. However, this showing is weakened by the fact that Bwel, too, is a small clan, and all but one of its members belonged to a single household.

No other clan is associated with a particular plant or occupation. But the name of one of them suggests former localization: Sauvelarlk. Two of the clan names, and a third on Sarfert's list, begin with 'sau'. This recalls a prefix which occurs in the names of certain descent groups in western Polynesia: Samoan Sa, Futunan Sa'a, Tongan and Uvean Ha'a. In the clan name Saupolowat, collected by Sarfert, the clan is said to have come from Puluwat. Accordingly, I asked whether Sauvelarlk meant 'clan (or people) of Falarlk'. Tom and another member of the clan-as I recall it, the chief Maroligar--said that it did. That this was not merely a matter of falling in with any such suggestion is shown by the fact that a similar question-whether Bwel and Sauwel were offshoots of one original clan-was answered in the negative. Of course, the answer of natives to any such question may be wrong. Yet the probability that the name indicated former localization of this clan seemed strong enough to be worth mentioning.

Names of some of the other clans connote rank rather than locality. There is a recognized order of rank for those clans within which chiefly titles are hereditary, corresponding to the order of the chiefs who hold these titles. Clans that have no title rank below those that have, but apparently in no particular order.

Below are listed the clans, in order of rank as far as possible, with what was learned about the meaning of their names, and any special attributes:

- 1. Kovalū: Ko is said to mean something like "chief" or ruler, though the ordinary word for chief is tamol. Valū means "land" or "island." The word is said to be not only the name of the clan, but also the title of the highest ranking chief, who is of this clan. However, the chief is rarely if ever, addressed or referred to as Kovalū. This clan has first claim on all turtles.
- 2. Sauvelārīk. People of Falārīk. This is the only clan that has two chiefly titles. They rank No. 2 and No. 4. It has first claim on all yellow-fin tuna. Tom, a member of this clan and inclined to make the most of its importance, said that Sauvelārīk, through the higher of its two chiefs, has charge of the lagoon and of fishing. The response of the chiefs when asked about this claim is discussed on p. 188.
- 3. Mangaulevār: Translated by Tom as 'more high' (in rank). Title of the No. 3 chief.
- 4. Rapevelū: Title of the No. 5 chief. Rape translated by Tom as 'all same tamol'; like ko, but less exalted. Velū is 'land' or 'island', the same as valū in kovalū.

- 5-8. (As noted, the following clans, which have no chiefly titles, seem to have no particular order of rank except that all are subordinate to the preceding four.)
- Sauwel. The name was not translated. Sarfert's statement that this clan came from Woleai suggests that the name might mean 'people of Woleai'; but this is inconsistent with the Ifaluk legend of repopulation of Woleai, and was denied. Another suggestion, that the name might mean 'people of the taro swamp', and so be a variant of Bwel, was also rejected. 'Just name', Tom said. The traditional function of this clan is to run errands and carry out orders for the chiefs. Tom said 'all same policeman.' The only reflection of this noted in practise was that an old man of this clan living in Falarik district was said to be a sort of petty chief, the only instance of such a position. He did not meet with the chiefs, nor sit with them at public assemblies. No case was observed in which he exercised his authority. But then, he was very old, and correspondingly inactive.
- Bwei: Taro swamp. Traditionally the expert gardeners. No more active in routine gardening, however, than members of other clans.
- Kailangailuk: The name was not translated, nor any special characteristics attributed to this clan.
- Kailangalualea: No translation obtained, nor any special attributes. This clan seems on the point of extinction in Ifaluk. The members were a woman, her widowed daughter, and the latter's adopted daughter. If this girl has children, the clan will continue; otherwise it will die out with this generation. On Elato the highest ranking chief, in February, 1948, was of this clan.

The difference in rank among clans is a source of pride to those whose clan membership gives them some claim to superiority. This confers no practical privileges, however, except for Kovalū's right to turtles and SauvelārIk's to yellow-fin tuna.

In one important respect the relative rank of clans seems to be reflected in behavior. This is in choice of a mate.

The following list shows intermarriages between clans, as represented by the married couples living on Ifaluk during our stay, except for four cases in doubt because of adoption. Kailangalualea does not appear in the table because of the three members of this clan two were widows, the other unmarried. No attempt was made to learn the clan membership of the former spouses of widows and widowers.

| Clan | Kovalū | Sau- vel ā rIk | Mangau- levār | Rape- velū | Sauwel | Kailang- ailuk | Bwel |
|--------------|--------|--------------------------|------------------|---------------|--------|-------------------|------|
| Kovalū | x | 10 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 |
| SauvelarIk | 10 | * | 7 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Mangaulevār | 6 | 7 | x | 1 | 7 | 6 | 1 |
| Rapevelu | 1 | 3 | 1 | х | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sauwél | 1 | 3 | 7 | 0 | x | 4 | 1 |
| Kailangailuk | 4 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 4 | x | 0 |
| Bwel | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | x |

Marriages between members of two title-holding clans (upper left quadrant of the table) total 28; between a member of a title-holding and a member of a titleless clan (lower left or upper right quadrant), 23; between two members of titleless clans, 5. It is true that the number of marriages is correlated with relative numerical strength of the clans as well as with relative rank. Membership of the four title-holding clans, excluding cases in doubt because of adoption, totalled 161; membership of the four titleless clans, 69. But this correlation between rank and numbers is itself another suggestion that clan rank may be a factor in selection of a mate. It is clear, though, that the apparent tendency to marry into a title-holding clan if possible does not amount to segregation or class endogamy. For instance, the highest-ranking clan of all, Kovalū, is allied by married with all the other clans.

No trace of totemism appears. The only connections between particular clans and creatures other than human are those mentioned: the right of Kovalū to turtles, or Sauvelārīk to yellow-fin tuna, and the association of Bwel with taro. The first two are nearly the opposite of the food tabus commonly associated with totem creatures. They are special privileges of these highest ranking clans with regard to particularly prized kinds of food. The association of Bwel with taro is different. It has more the look of a sentence to hard labor for this low-ranking clan, sweetened by flattery. Neither turtle nor tuna nor taro were used as symbols of the clans associated with them. Nor were any myths found about descent from non-human creatures, supernatural help from them, or any other traditional relationship.

Damm gives, from Sarfert's notes, a list of 10 clans from Ifaluk, only four of which correspond to the eight which are there now. Our work with census, legends, and especially Spiro's genealogies, provides so many cross-checks, including clan membership of every individual, that there is no possibility of error in our list of the eight clans. It seems that there must have been some misunderstanding between Sarfert and his informants or his interpreter. Below is the list collected by Sarfert, with his notation about place of origin. To the right are the comments of Wolpaitik, the only chief who happened to be in the canoe-house when I took Sarfert's list there, and

of Tom. The order is changed so that the four names which refer to clans now functioning on Ifaluk come first.

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| Clan name | Sarfert's Comment | Comment of Wolpaitik & Tom |
|------------|-------------------|--|
| Sauwalei | "Called on Ifaluk | Apparently Sauvelarlk. Other |
| | Saufalasik." | name unknown on Ifaluk. |
| Monaulifer | From Yap. | Mangaulevar. Origin accords with legends collected in 1947. |
| Bwol | From Pulap. | Bwel. Origin mistaken. My informants thought that Pulap must have been written by mistake for pulax, the common- |
| | | est kind of taro, because of the association of this clan with |
| | | taro cultivation. (However, |
| | | some former connection with |
| | | the legendary Bwennap, which |
| | | seems identical with Pulap, may |
| | | have been forgotten since |
| | | Sarfert's visit in 1909. |
| Sauwol | From Woleai. | Sauwel. Origin incorrect."'E talk lie, " said Tom; Sauwel like |
| | | all the other clans, went to |
| | | Woleai from Ifaluk, not the other |
| | | way. (See legends and discussion pp. 186ff. |
| Saupolowat | From Puluwat | Once represented on Ifaluk. Died out long ago. |
| Wisusu | From Puluwat. | A clan of Puluwat and Truk. |
| | | Never represented on Ifaluk. |
| Fanimei | | • |
| Gadaman | From Yap. | Never represented on Ifaluk. |
| Wolei | • | |
| Wuido | Called Djak. | Never represented on Ifaluk. |

Conceptually and verbally, the clans are important units on Ifaluk. The feeling of clan membership and solidarity is strong. Most people know the clan membership of everyone on the island, or nearly everyone. One of the commandments or exhortations that form a conventional part of the chief's speeches at public assemblies, is "Do not speak evil of people of another clan." Some of the chiefs in such exhortations address particularly the people of their own clan.

Yet clans never meet or act as units. Their only important effects on conduct seem to be the limitation they impose on marriage, and--a much

weaker one--the effect of their rank on choice of a mate. House sites and chiefly titles are said to belong to clans, but actually are held and transmitted in the smaller lineages to be discussed later (pp. 137-138).

Homestead and Household

The buildings in which the people of Ifaluk live are not isolated and self-sufficient, nor are they apartments in larger buildings. They are single-room structures, always grouped in clusters. Most often the clusters include several dwellings (im) and one cook-shed (malum); but some have only one dwelling, while others have more than one cook-shed. What gives them their unity is location on distinct, named sites or homesteads. During our stay on Ifaluk 29 homesteads were inhabited, as shown on the map, Fig. 22. The number of inhabitants to a homestead ranged from 3 to 19. Of the 29 homesteads, 12 were occupied by 6 to 9 persons.

Membership in a household--defined for this culture as the group inhabiting a homestead--is determined not only by common residence but also by kinship. The kinds of kinship ties that typically unite the members of a household in Ifaluk appear in the following list, which sorts out into broad classes the 29 households that existed there in 1947-48.

- (a) Three households consisted of simple families--father, mother, and children.
- (b) Seventeen households were made up of joint families of the type usual when residence after marriage is matrilocal, that is to say, groups to which the married men belonged by virtue of marriage, the others by virtue of common descent. More explicitly, seven of these households comprised a married couple (or one surviving member), their unmarried children, their married daughters, the husbands of these daughters, and the children of these couples. Two of the largest households—one with 14 members, the other with 19—included two such groups. Seven more were similarly made up of kinsfolk related by common descent in the maternal line, plus the husbands of the married women. The exact membership of these varied with varying incidence of births, deaths, and marriages. But all conformed to the same type.
- (c) Seven households included, in addition to an extended family, one or more individuals, or families, more distantly related, or not recognized as kinsfolk at all.
- (d) One household (Falum) was made up of a family and a bachelor, the latter related only very distantly.
- (e) One household (Uarigin) was an extended family of the type brought about by patrilocal residence.

All of the households which are not strictly matrilocal extended families include some deviation from matrilocal residence. To find out the extent to which this rule is observed, the type of residence exemplified by all the 60 married couples living on Ifaluk in 1947-48 was reviewed. One case was not clear. Of the 59 others, 41, just under 70%, were matrilocal. Six were

patrilocal, living on the husband's ancestral homestead. Twelve couples were heterolocal, living in various other places. Breach of the rule of matrilocal residence came to the rather high total of 18 couples, 30.5% of the total.

The typical household, then, is a matrilocal extended family. Its composition is determined by common residence, matrilineal inheritance of the homestead, and matrilocal residence after marriage. Most of the households that do not conform strictly to this type have an extended family as a nucleus, with some additions on the basis of other claims or of simple congeniality. Given the predominance of the extended family as the basis of membership in a household, the few households that consist of simple families can be regarded as vestigial or incipient extended families. Only two households, (d) and (e), vary fundamentally from the type.

The extended family is not as clearly envisaged in native thought as the clan. There are several terms for groups of relatives smaller than the clan, but none of them is strictly synonymous with "extended family". One, tral li votai (with a possessive suffix, in this case first person singular), means approximately "all my relatives"--all who are recognized and reated as such. Another, welimwales, is also used in reference to some individual. Tom translated it as "man, and women and boy blong that man." Pressed to be more specific, he included the man's wife and sisters, and the children of both. These would not all be members of the same household, extended family, or clan. In the absence of a generic term for "household," particular households are designated by the names of the homesteads they occupy.

In order to bring out any common factor underlying cases of departure from matrilocal residence, the membership of households that include such cases is listed below. They are divided into three categories: (1) those which constitute extended families of the matrilocal type, but are not matrilocal in residence: (2) those which include a matrilocal extended family, but have some additional members who are not living matrilocally; and (3) those which include no examples of matrilocal residence. Most of the data were supplied by Spiro from his genealogies. Each case begins with the name of the clan to which the site is said to belong; then the personnel of the household.

1. Households consisting of extended family of matrilocal type, but not exemplifying matrilocal residence:

Atielu (Sauwel). A man, his wife, and her sister. The property belonged to his clan, but was not his childhood home, so residence is heterolocal rather than patrilocal. If these people had not gone there to live, the homestead would have been unoccupied.

Uluas (Sauwel). A family: man wife, and one child. The property belonged to his clan, but was not his childhood home. If he had not set up a new household by moving there, the homestead would have been unoccupied.

Metalegop (Bwel). A family: man, wife and one child. The property belonged to his clan: it is not clear whether he was brought up on it. If

the family had not gone there to live, the homestead would have been unoccupied.

2. Households consisting of a matrilocal extended family, with additional members not matrilocal in residence:

Nimau (Sauvelārīk). In addition to three women of the Sauvelārīk clan, who apparently had been brought up here, the occupants included two families without hereditary claim to this homestead. The wives in these families are sisters, of the Mangaulevar clan. Why the families came to live here was not specifically stated. But if the household had not had some such addition, there would have been no men in it to perform the men's work necessary for subsistence.

Faleolarik (Kailangailuk). In addition to a typical extended family, the occupants included the chief Maroligar (Sauvelarlk), his wife (Mangaulevar), and their adopted daughter. Their claim to the site-one rather remote from the native rule of inheritance-was that the homestead had been that of Maroligar's father. Apparently living here rather than on his wife's ancestral homestead was a matter of convenience.

Alingeliu (Sauwel). In addition to a rather complex extended family, including four adopted children, this homestead was occupied by a woman of Kovalū clan, with her daughter and the daughter's husband. They moved there after the death of a son of the older woman. No reason was given except her wish; but she made herself most useful by taking care of the numerous small children of the household.

Apilimat (Sauvelarlk). In addition to two unmarried or widowed women who were brought up here, there were the following occupants: (a) a woman from Faleolarik (Kailangailuk), with her husband and children. She may have been adopted into this household. (b) a woman from Nimau (Sauvelarlk), distantly related to this household. (c) a family-husband, wife, and two daughters--none of whom had any hereditary claim to this homestead. Their reason for living here is not known.

Weluara (Mangaulevar). In addition to a rather large extended family, the occupants of this homestead included a family of outsiders. The wife (hence the children) was of Papevelu clan. The husband was of Mangaulevar, but from another homestead, Arotrang. No particular reason for their presence here was learned.

Falitrel (Sauvelarlk). In addition to an extended family, this household included an unmarried women, whose connection was uncertain, and a married couple, whose only claim to the homestead was a distant relationship to the woman. She was of Sauvelarlk clan, but had come from another homestead.

Fanneserax (Kailangailuk). In addition to a rudimentary extended family-two sisters who grew up here and the husband of one of them--the occupants were as follows:

(a) A widow from Nimau (Sauvelārīk). Her husband had been of this clan. She had come here to live with him--a case of patrilocal

residence -- and had stayed on, with her three children, after his death.

(b) One of (a's) sons and his wife, who came from Woleai. This was one of two reported cases of patrilocal residence after an interisland marriage.*

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(c) A woman of Sauwel clan, with her husband and their adopted son. She belonged to Alingeliu homestead next door and had moved here, it was reported, just because she chose to, regardless of custom.

3. Households which include no examples of matrilocal residence. Foraik (Sauwel). The line that traditionally occupied this homestead died out. The site was occupied by two women of Kovalū clan with their families. They moved in from Welipeien, next door.

Uarigin (Rapevelū). The only member of this household who was brought up here is the chief Toromann. He brought his wife to live on his homestead, a case of patrilocal residence. They have a son and a daughter. The daughter is unmarried. The son also brought his wife (Kovalū) to this homestead. By means of these two cases of patrilocal residence, the homestead has remained occupied and suitably manned.

Falun (Sauwel). The line that traditionally occupied this homestead died out. The occupants were a bachelor and a family. The bachelor's claim to the site was that his paternal grandfather lived there. The woman of the family had some similar, rather remote connection with the site. The reason given for this choice of residence was that the occupants wished to resettle this homestead, which had been deserted.

This list of deviations from matrilocal residence indicates that the main reason behind it is depopulation. The occupants of a homestead, according to the pattern of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence, die off. The homestead is kept occupied, or reoccupied, either by switching to patrilocal residence, or by acting on some more remote, sometimes quite far-fetched claim; or even without any hereditary claim to the site at all. In the case of men who keep their ancestral homestead occupied by bringing their wives there to live, a sentiment favoring continued occupation of the old homestead may be one of the motives. Another, which may be involved in all cases, and seems the most likely one when no hereditary claim is involved, is simply a wish to take advantage of the availability of a desirable site. Whether matrilocal residence would be more consistently observed if the population were constant or increasing is a pertinent question. But no answer can be given from the data on Ifaluk, where the population is diminishing. While depopulation seems to be the main reason for residence other than matrilocal, it is

^{*} The other was that of a woman from Bwagolei, a SauvelarIk homestead no longer inhabited in 1947-48. She had married a man from Elato and gone there to live with his people. Cases of interisland matrilocal residence were not collected, but were more numerous.

not the only one. Although matrilocal residence is customary, it is not insisted upon. Residence elsewhere is not condemned or punished. In Sumner's terminology, matrilocal residence is one of the folkways, but-unlike clan exogamy--not one of the mores.

Married men, as a rule, have two households. One is the household of the mother, sisters, and maternal ancestors, ordinarily the one in which a man was brought up. By analogy with a term in common use for family, this may be called the household of orientation. (In exceptional cases, as has been seen, the household of orientation may be other than that of the mother and her lineage.) The second is the household of a man's wife and her lineage, ordinarily that in which he lives with his family after marriage. This, according to the same terminology, is his household of procreation. Even if he does not live there, he is closely linked to this household through his wife and children.

Women have, typically, only one household. They live on the same homestead all their lives, so for them the household of orientation and that of procreation are the same. In the comparatively few cases in which residence after marriage is patrilocal, it is the woman who has two households, the man who has only one. In other exceptional situations, where residence is heterolocal, both husband and wife may be said to have two households.

In any of these cases, an individual has close ties with more than one household. A man's <u>welimwales</u>—the women and children for whom he feels responsible—includes his mother and sisters, and his sisters' children, as well as his wife and own children.

Children who belong to the majority so far as their pattern of residence is concerned, --that is, who live in their mother's household and have not had their relationships complicated by adoption--feel a strong secondary relationship with their father's household of orientation. This is expressed in at least one formal pattern of behavior. The rite of passage called taurang, on the occasion of the girl's first menstruation, is celebrated at the homestead where she lives, ordinarily her mother's. But the women who bedizen her with turmeric paint, skirts, and necklaces, come both from that household and from her father's household of orientation. At the close of the ceremony, the girl, with all these women and any other women and children who may care to attend (men are not forbidden, but take no formal notice of these affairs), parades from her homestead to the ancestral homestead of her father. The four days of isolation which custom requires during menstruation are then spent in the menstrual hut on her father's homestead. After that, she may spend these periods either on her father's homestead or on her own. This particular custom is apparently recent, as formerly there was only one, or at most only a few places of seclusion for menstruating women on the whole atoll. But the parade, which also apparently symbolizes her relationship to both households, is ancient, as far as we know.

The Lineage

The people who inherit a homestead from generation to generation—as distinguished from husbands who come in by matrilocal residence—are all related by common descent in the maternal line. They are members, not only of the same clan, but of a subdivision of the clan, descended from a common ancestress less remote than the clan's traditional founder.

Although in Ifaluk descent is not memorized by means of genealogies, the heirs to most of the homesteads are so closely related that a common ancestress is either alive or at least remembered by living descendants. In the three households which consist of simple families, the common ancestress -- since husbands are excluded by definition -- is of course the mother. These households conform to type only if they are living on her ancestral homestead. Otherwise they will found a new line if the women stay on the same homestead, whatever its previous history, for more than a generation. In nearly all of the 17 households which consist of extended families, the common ancestress is either the oldest living woman orwhen there is more than one in the oldest generation, or its only representative is a man--the mother of the oldest members. In only a few cases is the common ancestress more than one generation earlier than the oldest living resident. Similarly, in most of the households which have an extended family as a nucleus, the members of this nucleus have a common ancestress within two or three generations. It is only in a few atypical households, in which residence other than matrilocal predominates, that a common ancestress is either lacking or too remote to be remembered.

Unless the homestead has been settled or reoccupied within a few generations, the remembered common ancestress was not the founder of the line. In homesteads long occupied, the line extends back farther than the people can trace it. Attached to each homestead are one or more ghosts, ancestral members of the line, thought to be still active for good or evil. Some of these, too, were in the flesh within memory of the living. But others seem to be more ancient, so that the connection can no longer be traced.

For lack of a better name, such a line of heirs to a homestead will be called a lineage. That term has been variously defined, and the Ifaluk line of descent does not fit all the definitions. But it conforms to the broader ones.

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On Ifaluk the lineage is not clearly conceived as a descent group. The clan, which includes a number of lineages, is the only such group which is distinct in native thought. Lineages have no names. They are designated by the names of the homesteads they occupy. Thus they are not distinguished from extended families, although they differ from these in two respects: first, by including the dead; and second, by excluding husbands related only by marriage.

Nor was any name found for "lineage" in general, to correspond to kailang for clan. The nearest I came to such a term was in a phrase expressing the preferred type of adoption, which is within the lineage; vam a li nibwogot. Vam means adoption or, with a possessive form, adopted child. A li are, as nearly as our grammatical terms can describe them, a preposition and definite article, which can be translated here as "according-tothe-." Ni is another preposition, 'in' or 'within'. Bwogot, usually followed by a possessive suffix, is the name for most of the real property inherited within a lineage. It includes the homestead, one or more separate tracts of coconut land (Tom usually translated it 'coconut land'); also, if I understand it rightly, any breadfruit groves not on the homestead; but not the tracts of hereditary taro swamp (bwel), although these are inherited in the same way. The English word which comes nearest to translating bwogot (though too broad) is 'estate.' So the phrase vam a li nibwogot can be clumsily translated 'adoption according to the within-the-estate (plan).' This labored attempt at translation seems worth while in order to show that native thought is focussed on the property, and uses it, perhaps unawares, as a symbol for the lineage within which the property is inherited.

Although "lineage" is an abstraction made by the ethnographer and not, at least explicitly, by the people themselves, adoption is only one of several ways in which it affects individual lives. The most important, because it governs the main source of subsistence, is inheritance of homesteads and food-producing land. In the realm of government, although chiefly titles are talked of as attributes of the clan, they are actually held within the lineage. Only the members of the clan's senior lineage are eligible to the succession. And in the realm of religion, ghosts of ancestors associated with homesteads—that is, in effect, with lineages—are among the supernatural beings most likely to affect the lives of the living.

The Father's Side

Although descent, inheritance, and succession are mainly matrilineal, the father's homestead and lineage are by no means ignored. The father's share in procreation is recognized. The father, by matrilocal residence, lives on the same homestead, usually in the same one-room dwelling, as the rest of the family. And he is not merely tolerated there, like an interloper. He is as much at home as those who inherited the site, and has as much authority in ordinary household affairs as men of about his age in the mother's lineage.

Yet he has not lost either rights or obligations toward his own maternal lineage and homestead. And some of this is passed on to his children. Thus everyone inherits, through his father, a kind of secondary membership in the father's household. The parade of a girl to her father's homestead at the conclusion of her first menstruation ceremony has already been mentioned as a token of this relationship. Both boys and girls feel some obligation to

contribute their services, and some claim to share in the products, of their fathers' households. The father's death weakens this relationship but does not end it. For the next generation, though, it dies out almost entirely. Only in exceptional circumstances would either obligations or privileges toward the people and property of one's paternal grandfather be strong enough to lead to action.

The most prized special skills and lores-those of navigation and canoe-building--are ordinarily taught by a father to his son or sons. A man may choose other apprentices; but a son is a particularly likely choice. Tom, as first navigator of Ifaluk, taught seamanship to his eldest son; but also to his brother and wife's brother.

Coconut trees planted on someone else's land, as already noted, are inherited from father to son.

The statement of succession to chieftainship given me by the chiefs included a son as possible successor, though after brothers and sisters' sons. I found no case of such patrilineal succession. But then, the people keep so little of the past in memory that very few cases of succession were available. The very fact that the chiefs agreed on it as a possibility shows something of the importance attached to the father's line.

Finally, there is a curious recognition of descent through males in the mythology. The two bits of divine genealogy collected—that of the high gods, and that of the gods of navigation—are both patrilineal.

Extension of exogamy to some relatives on the father's side has already been noted. Marriage is forbidden, not only with the father himself, but with his children and his sister's children. This extension of the incest ban to some relatives on the father's side is suggested by the kinship terms, which are extended bilaterally. The term for mother is applied to father's sisters as well as mother's sisters; and the sibling terms are extended to all cousins recognized as such, on the father's as well as the mother's side.

As suggested by the bilateral extension of kinship terms, a bilateral group of relatives or kindred also exists at least in each individual's mind. Its existence is proved by the fact that there is a name for it--airō. The name was used by Tom in explaining where visitors on islands other than their own look for hospitality. He said they stay with their airō.

"What does that mean--airo?"

"All same clan."

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Taking a wrong turn on Tom's translation, Burrows wrote this down as a term for fellow-clansmen. Spiro, in his more intensive and more internalized study of kinship, found that the term expresses the concept of a kindred as defined by Murdock: "all of Ego's near relatives regardless of collaterality or bifurcation." (It may be worth noting that this is not the same as the overtly functioning group designated by this term as the British define it: "a group of persons who acknowledge descent, genealogically or by adoption, from one family, whether through their fathers or their mothers" (Notes & Queries, 1929, p. 55).

By "all same clan," Tom evidently meant that the <u>airo</u> is a group much like a clan. Spiro's inquiries also showed that Tom's use of the word in connection with hospitality was typical; in other words, that hospitality is the main overt expression of the feeling of unity within the <u>airo</u>. One treats his relatives on the father's side with the same open-handedness as those on the mother's side. Another, negative expression of this feeling is the extension of exogamy to patrilineal relatives; still another, avoidance of sexual joking between persons of opposite sex who are related in any line—that is, members of each other's airo.

An airo never meets as a unit. The nearest to such a meeting is the taurang ceremony, when the girl whose first menstruation is being celebrated is adorned by the women of her father's as well as her mother's household, and marches with them afterward from her mother's to her father's homestead. Indeed, it is only for a rite of passage or similar occasion, centered about one individual or at most one set of siblings, that such a group could very well assemble. For, by definition, its membership must vary for each set of siblings. Such groups are bound to exist mainly in the mind. No doubt that is why, as Murdock points out in "Social Structure," the existence of kindreds is frequently overlooked by ethnographers.

The terms used on Ifaluk to designate relationships by descent and marriage are shown in the following table. These are exclusively terms of reference, not used in address. Whatever the relationship, people are addressed by their names, often shortened in familiar speech. The only term used in address that implies a relationship, so far as I learned, is autegi. This is not a kinship term but an endearment, sometimes used by a man to his wife when they are by themselves.

Kinship terms take possessive suffixes: tamai, my father; tamom, your father; taman or tamal, his father; tamare, our father; tamami, your (pl.) father; tamer, their father. The form used in the table is the first person singular. The third person singular appears also in composite terms.

Kinship terms

| Generation | Lineal | Collateral | Affinal |
|------------|--|---|---|
| + 2 | Paternal grandfather, tamatamai. Descriptive composite terms for other grandparents: paternal grandmother, sin ni tamai, (mother of my father): maternal | Lineal terms extended to others of the same generation | Descriptive composites, as tamataman ni vetiai, paterna grandfather of my wife. |

| Generation | Lineal | Collateral | Affinal |
|------------|--|--|--|
| | grandfather, taman ni silei; maternal grand- mother, sin ni silei. | | |
| † 1 | father, tamai mother silei | mother's brother manenepai (sometimes manenepei; ex- tended within lineage: some- times further with- in clan. Mother's sister, silei, ex- tended; father's brother, tamai; father's sister silei; both extended | Descriptive composites, as taman ni vetiai, fatherin-law (father of my wife). |
| 0 | sibling of same sex (brother of man, sister of woman) bwisi. sibling of opposite sex (sister of man, brother of woman), moengai. | bwisi and moengai extended. | spouse, vetiai. Other terms composite, as bwisin ni vetiai, sister-in-law (sister of wife) or brother-in- law (brother of husband); moengan ni vetiai, brother of wife, sister of husband. |
| -1 | child, <u>lai</u> . (Son, <u>lai</u> mwal; daughter, <u>lai</u> rowot). | sister's child of man, vatuwei; extended within lineage. Lai extended to other nieces and nephews. | Descriptive composites, as laun ni bwisin ni vetiai, child of the sister of my wife, or child of the brother of my husband. |
| - 2 | grandchild, launei | launei extended | Descriptive composites. |

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ve es, as an ni aterna er of The system of classifying relatives exemplified by these terms is widespread in Oceania, and has been called by a variety of names. The most generally used of late seems to be 'Polynesian system'.

Another name proposed by Dr. Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago is "generation system." This specifies the distinguishing characteristic of the type: that the strongest category in classifying relatives is that of generation or genealogical level. No term is applied to relatives in more than one generation. The category of descent is weaker in that terms for relatives in the direct line are extended to apply also to relatives in collateral lines.

In so far as the category of generation is stronger than that of descent, the terminology used on Ifaluk differs from the actual alignment of relatives in groups. In two of the groups, clan and lineage, the category of descent predominates. In the joint family, three categories are involved—descent, common residence, and marriage. There are no groups based on generation level, and groups based on common age, as already noted, are relatively weak.

Yet kinship terms are not so completely at variance with usage as might appear at first glance. Although people are not formally grouped by generation level, the informal grouping of males in canoe-houses follows a line of cleavage which approximates that of generation. Boys and young men (even after marriage) cluster by themselves. Much of the time they are separate from the older men, though a common task, or even common interest in the subject of a conversation, may bring the two groups together. The most distinct young men's groups were in the two northernmost canoe-houses, in the part of Falarik where there are no longer any dwellings. Older men generally congregated in the canoe-house nearest the home-stead where they lived, so much of the time the youngsters had these canoe-houses to themselves.

Relative age is more generally important in that a senior outranks a junior. The clearest formal expression of this is in succession to chieftainship. It appears also in the form of a general attitude of respect and deference for elders. This is not elaborated by formal etiquette but is constantly perceptible.

At one crucial point the kinship terms make a distinction between lines of descent. This is in the use of separate terms for what we can only translate as "father" (tamai) and what we can only translate as "mother's brother" (manenepai). The same distinction appears in the reciprocals of these terms; that for "child" or "offspring" (lai--here there is no distinction of sex) and that for "sister's child" (vatuwei).

Tamai is applied primarily to the father and to the men of his generation—mostly his brothers—who live, or lived before their marriage, on his ancestral homestead. If there is frequent association—which would ordinarily come about through neighboring residence—with more distant relatives on his side, the term would be applied also to them. Application

of it to persons outside his clan (his father's father's brother's sons, for instance) is also usual, when association with such kinsfolk keeps the relationship in mind. In any case, this term, though rather widely extended to men of the older generation, ordinarily expresses a relationship through the father. Its most immediate use is to express the relationship to the father himself; next, that to his brothers; next, to other men, if any, of his generation and lineage. Similarly, manenepai applies primarily to mother's eldest brother; then to her other brothers; then to other men of her generation and lineage. When extended further, as all Ifaluk terms can be when occasion demands, it would still express a relationship to a man of the parental generation through the mother. The distinction between tamai and manenepai, as most often used, is essentially one between father's lineage and mother's lineage.

The reciprocal terms manenepai and vatuwei express a special relationship of the kind that Radcliffe Brown calls dyadic (SS: 'all social relations of personto person'); and the kind that our students of personality usually mean when they speak of "interpersonal relations." The language of Ifaluk, too, has a term for such relationships. Maru e malu means a pair of closely related individuals; it may be husband and wife, parent and child, siblings, or mother's brother and sister's son.

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The latter relationship, commonly called the avunculate, is important in Ifaluk, as might be expected in a matrilineal, matrilocal society. But it is not extremely developed. It is not emphasized by ritual, nor by any formal privilege, nor reinforced by cross-cousin marriage. Cross-cousin marriage is permitted, but not required, nor even especially preferred.

The mother's brother can not be said to supplant the father, though his role includes some functions performed by the father in societies of a more patriarchal cast. Because of matrilocal residence, a young person's father usually lives in the same homestead with him, while a mother's brother, once he is married, does not. Yet the mother's brother is the most closely related older male in anyone's own lineage. He personifies the main source of livelihood, insofar as a man is a more appropriate representative or symbol of that than a woman is. The relationship is most conspicuous in economic reciprocity between males. The vatuwei, or sister's son (sometimes in a classificatory sense) is the heir presumptive of the manenepai, (or one of them,) and may be regarded as dependent on him for a livelihood. This imposes on the vatuwei an obligation which he discharges by services, particularly work performed for the manenepai. Specific examples of this will be given in the discussion of economic cooperation. When the manenepai is a chief, the vatuwei may succeed to the title, though younger brothers of the chief have first claim.

There is no corresponding special term for father's sister. She is one of the 'classificatory mothers', the term <u>silei</u> being extended to her. In this extension of the term, the category of common descent is disregarded;

a father's sister can not be of the same clan as the mother, because of clan exogamy. No special powers are attributed to the father's sister, as in some Pacific islands; and no special obligations imposed on her reciprocal, the brother's child. Since father's sisters are the most closely related older women in the father's household, the relationship is kept in mind by the generally frequent association with that household. So the relationship is a rather close, kindly one; but there is no formal emphasis upon it.

One of the characteristics of the type of kinship terminology to which that of Ifaluk belongs is the way in which sex is specified in the terms for sibling. What the terms specify is whether the speaker and the sibling referred to are of the same sex or not. Bwisi means "my sibling of the same sex" (brother, man speaking; sister, woman speaking). Moengai means "my sibling of opposite sex" (sister, man speaking; brother, woman speaking).

This emphasis on unisexual or bisexual pairs, rather than on the sex of the individual referred to, suggests association with the incest ban. Polynesia shares this feature of kinship terminology; and in western Polynesia there is a formal pattern of avoidance between brothers and sisters. In Ifaluk there is only a slight trace of such avoidance. Formerly, when unmarried youths slept in the men's house, brother and sister did not sleep under the same roof; but now that the men's houses are no longer used as bachelors dormitories, and the young men sleep in their own homesteads, an unmarried man and his sister often sleep in the same dwelling. The only restriction on conversation between them is that sexual topics are forbidden; and that holds between men and women generally, except for married couples and lovers. The one trace of avoidance appeared when Tom, in Spiro's presence, refused to light a cigarette for a woman of his household. He gave as the reason that they were brother and sister. He said brother and sister may not eat food cooked over the same fire. (He was using the term moengal in an extended sense. The two were parallel cousins, their mothers having been sisters.) I have no data on how rigorously this prohibition is observed; but apparently, as often in Oceania, a food tabu has been extended to smoking.

On the positive side, the relationship between brother and sister is very close, and involves an obligation of mutual help. A man's welimwales, the women and children for whom he feels responsible, include his sisters and their children, as well as his wife and own children. Sisters, as well as mother and wife, lead in the wailing over a dead man's body before burial. When the chiefs, following the advice of the American physician, were haranguing the people about sanitation, urging them not to defecate on shore but use overwater toilets or go into the sea, one of them said, "If a man is sick and can not go into the sea, let his wife or sister collect the feces and take them into the sea."

Between siblings of the same sex there is also a close relationship of mutual helpfulness. They often work together, sisters in the taro patch

or about the house, brothers fishing or making toddy. The only distinctive pattern I found was in a song which tells of two brothers going into the bush with the same sweetheart. When this song was dictated to me by the chiefs, they evidently knew it was something I was not used to. They laughed about it, loudly, and, I thought, a little uneasily. Tom said afterward that the practise is not rare. When asked if it applied to wives as well as sweethearts, he denied that emphatically. "Very bad that—all same America." He said that if a man went to another island, his brother might bring food to the wife and her children; but this was a matter of choice, depending on the state of feeling among the individuals concerned. When a man dies, his brother may marry the widow. But this practise (the levirate), is not required or regarded as particularly praiseworthy. My data do not show how prevalent it may be. Given the excess of women over men and the fact that polygyny, though said to be permissible, is not practised, many widows do not remarry.

The one little tabu between brother and sister, slight as it is, is the only pattern of avoidance between relatives to be found. Mothers-in-law are treated with respect and deference, but not avoided. The sight of a man eating a household meal with his wife, the children, and his mother-in-law is not uncommon. Conversely, there is no formally patterned intimacy of the kind usually called a joking relationship.

The bilateral extension of sibling terms, so that there is no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, is reflected in the existence, at least conceptually, of a bilateral group of relatives or kindred (airo), discussed on p. 139-140.

One of the striking characteristics of the social organization of Ifaluk is the prevalence of adoption. Spiro worked this out in detail, and it is discussed in the chapter, "Life Cycle."

ECONOMICS

The manual operations by which the people of Ifaluk get a living from the soil and sea around them have been discussed under the heading "Technology". This chapter is concerned with the standards and practises that organize this activity; in other words, with the patterns that govern the control of material goods and the work of producing and distributing them.

Property

The concept of ownership of material wealth that prevails in Ifaluk differs from our own. Ownership there is not absolute to the verge of irresponsibility, as in our economic system. A doctrine generally accepted among us--"It's nobody's business what I do with my own property"--would hardly be understood in Ifaluk; or, if understood, would be indignantly condemned. Individual possession of material goods is, to be sure, a familiar idea with them. It is explicitly expressed in their language by possessive suffixes and adjectives. But in effect the individual "owners", to whom these forms of speech refer, are no more than members of groups which share in the right to use the property; or else, in the case of those who have authority over its use by others, managers on behalf of the group. The whole group is the real owner, in our sense of the term. The nominal owner is either a co-owner or a trustee.

This contrast must not be taken as diametrical opposition. With us too, there is of course a sense of public responsibility in ownership of some kinds of nominally private property; particularly property which the public uses and depends on--public utilities, common carriers, and the like. This sense of public responsibility seems to have been growing stronger among us during the 20th century. But there is still a decided difference in degree between our concept of ownership and the one which prevails in Ifaluk.

Most of what we would call public property is called in Ifaluk the property of the chiefs. One example is the main roads or paths of the two islands; one running along the lagoon side of Falarik between the houses and the shore; the other a "belt line" around Falarlap close to the taro swamp. Another example is the big seines kept in the canoe-houses. The men's house and the plot of land around it, including the overgrown site of the former men's house--all regarded as a unit and called by the one name Katelu--is also considered property of the chiefs. In this case the ascription to them has additional force, for one of the functions of Katelu is to symbolize chiefly dignity and authority.

This concept, ownership by the chiefs of property not used by them more than by everybody else, suggests at first glance the feudalism of

medieval Europe. But the resemblance is superficial. While ostensibly the chiefs can do as they please with this property, actually what they please to do is limited by tradition. It never has occurred to them to allot exclusive use of the road or seines to favored retainers, in return for services like the military services of feudal Europe. The former use of the men's house as a dormitory for unmarried youths, and the fairly definite tasks assigned to them, look more like services owed the chiefs in return for use of the chiefs' property. But the natives apparently did not think of the young men's work as room rent; at least the youths still perform definite tasks—so far as we know, the same as before—now that they no longer sleep in the men's house. Nor have the chiefs ever thought of selling or trading these properties of theirs, or reserving them for their own exclusive use. Such uses of the properties seem inconceivable to them; hence, for all practical purposes, might as well be forbidden.

There is no telling what may happen in the future, as the influence of a foreign concept of property grows stronger. However, one other likely result of increasing foreign influence would be waning power of the chiefs. That would tend to counteract any inclination toward tyrannical disposal of property. But the outcome of such a pull between opposed tendencies, as complicated by an indefinite number of other pulls, is impossible to

predict.

Meanwhile, what the chiefs do with such property is virtually the same as what our government officials do with property entrusted to their charge. Both issue orders controlling the use and upkeep of the property for the common benefit. For instance, fishing with the big seines, and repairing or replacing them, are done only on order of the chiefs. But fish caught with the seines are distributed among all the households whose men have done the fishing. If there are enough fish to go further, some will be sent to other districts. And when all districts take part in the fishing, the catch is distributed among the whole population.

In distributing a large catch, the chiefs are allotted some fish in their capacity as chiefs, in addition to what they may receive as senior members of households. But this seems to be tribute—a prerogative of rank, or token of respect for rank. To regard it as rental for use of the seines would be incongruous with the general pattern governing disposal of property. On this point, I have no statement from a native, one way or the other. Such a statement, if obtainable, would have little value. It is doubtful whether any of them could be made to understand the concept of rent, without going abroad and having experience of its operation. Tom, in his six years of residence in Manila, has undoubtedly done that. But he has thereby become less trustworthy as an informant on how the natives think of their disposal of property—except where a statement of his fits native behavior but would be incompatible with our own. The best procedure seemed to be to observe native behavior closely; to ask few questions, and

these preferably of the chiefs or others less familiar with foreign ways than Tom; to try to make these inevitable questions as simple and comprehensible as possible; and to interpret these data according to the simplest and most consistent scheme that would account for what the people do. Such a scheme unquestionably requires some notion of reciprocity; but our notion of rent would not fit without broadening its meaning almost beyond recognition.

Canoe-houses are in effect public property, or at least property of the men of the neighborhood, most of the time. Yet nominally each one belongs to one or two individuals, and occasionally one is used as private property. They shelter all the sailing canoes and larger paddling canoes whose owners live nearby, and some of the little single-seat rosemani. (The rest of the rosemani are either left on the beach or kept in little sheds, erected usually on the shoreward end of the owner's homestead land.) Canoe-houses are also used as club-houses by the men and boys (especially taremwanni, older boys) of the neighborhood, who spend there most of their daytime leisure--and they have plenty of it. They are used, too, for the men's lighter work, not only rope-making, but the making of nets and traps; and as carpenter shops for building canoes. Finally, they are guest-houses for visitors from other islands, who sleep there and are fed by presents from chiefs or relatives.

The canoe-houses from north to south, with their owners as given by Tom, are as follows:

- 1. Pa'ugop Totogoeiti (Tom) and Arovalimen
- Gajuteling
 Fan ni Wa
 Sabwolap
 Gabwileisei
- 5. Fale Penga Fagaulir
 6. Katelu north side, Maroligar and Totogoeiti south side, Toromann
- Fan ni Wong WolpaitIk
 Pa'uël Wolpetau
- 9. Gavilea WolpaitIk and Wolpetau

In this list Tom allotted to himself, under his native name Totogoeiti, ownership of two and a quarter canoe-houses, while his nearest rivals, the chiefs Wolpetau and WolpaitIk, have only one and one-half each. This may reflect his insatiable thirst for glory. Particularly suspect is his claim to a share with Maroligar in the north side of the canoe house at Katēlū. This is next to the men's house, shares the same name and, in lesser degree, the same chiefly eminence. It was used by the chiefs during our stay for meeting among themselves, though not for public assemblies. Tom is of the same lineage as Maroligar, and claims to be heir-apparent to his chieftainship; a rather tenuous claim, as he is older than Maroligar, though his junior genealogically. By an unfortunate oversight, I failed to check this list by getting one from somebody else. However, there is no reason to question the pattern of nominal ownership by one or two men.

Through most of our stay, Tom was using one of the canoe-houses he called his own, Fan ni Wa, as a workshop for building his sailing canoe. For a time his son used the other, Palugop, for building a small canoe. Other canoes were sheltered in both houses at the same time, but only on the busiest working days did the work interfere with the usual neighborhood meetings.

We saw only one other instance of private use of a canoe-house. For a time the seaward side of one of them, Fale Penga, was temporarily walled in, and the family of the owner slept there. This was not during the last part of the west-wind season, a time of heavy rain, occasional strong wind, and constant danger of hurricane, when a man might well want the more substantial shelter of the canoe-house. It was during the trade-wind season, when there was no need for better than ordinary shelter. If the trouble had been a leaky roof, it could have been rethatched in half a day. That was not done during the brief residence of the owner in the canoe-house. To the question, "Why?" the answer was simply that he and his family thought they would like to sleep there for a while. After a week or so they moved out again. This instance shows that the claim to ownership is more than nominal. But it is rarely exercised. Ordinarily the only requirements for constant use of a canoe-house are residence in the neighborhood, and masculinity. Women hardly ever enter a canoe-house: rarely even pass in front of one. (We were told one story--submitted as true, but remembered because it was considered funny--of illegal sexual relationships between an Ifaluk man and a Mogmog woman, on a platform over the tiebeams of a canoe-house in Mogmog. But this account of behavior abroad-behavior as improper as it would be with us--is hardly an exception to the rule that Ifaluk women keep out of canoe-houses.)

The two southernmost canoe-houses on Falarik Island, Fan ni Wong and Palugop, were not in daily use for light work and loafing, like all the others. Palugop, on the channel between the two islands, was indeed busy and populous on special occasions, as when the population of Falarik island was crossing to Falalap for a religious ceremony. At least twice during our stay feasts were held beside this house; once to celebrate the conclusion of a thatching job, once--as I recall it--to partake of an especially good haul of fish which Rauau and Falalap men both had a hand in catching. But on ordinary days it was deserted, or nearly so. More frequently occupied was a small building beside it which served as a workshop, especially for the women of the nearest household, that of chief Toromann. The next canoe-house to the north, Fan ni Wong, was still less used. Most of the time there was no one in it, and I never saw more than one or two there except when the men of the adjacent household, Uelepi, gathered there for some common task.

These two cance-houses adjoined, on opposite sides, the homestead Uelepi, which as the traditional homestead of the senior lineage of the clan

Kovalu was the highest-ranking dwelling site on the atoll, and was tabu to outsiders. The butchering of turtle, reserved to Kovalu, was done in a little grove between Uelepi and Fan ni Wong, but nearer to the canoe-house than the dwellings. The question arises whether the aura of rank and sanctity from Uelepi extended to the two canoe-houses, and made men feel less free to use them. This is possible; but in telling us of the tabu on Uelepi, Tom said nothing of its extending to the canoe-houses. The nominal "owner" of Fan ni Wong was WolpaitIk, a chief but not of Kovalu clan. (He lived at Uelepi by virtue of marriage to a Kovalu woman.) The owner of Palugop was Wolpetau, highest ranking chief, of Kovalū clan and Uelepī lineage. But this site, though not the canoe-house itself, was most frequented by the household of the lesser chief Toromann, of Rapevelu clan. On the whole, it seems most likely that the reason for these canoe-houses being less frequented than the others was simply that there were few dwellings nearby. In addition, Fan ni Wong was off the main road; and, because currents had been building a sandy point to seaward of it, was farther from water than any other canoe-house.

Canoes have individual owners. The degree of exclusiveness in their use varies inversely with the size of the canoe. That is, the little <u>rosemani</u> are commonly used rather like private property by the owner and his family for transportation and small-scale fishing. Members of other households do not take out these small canoes without permission. But a larger paddling canoe, still more a sailing canoe, is used most often for fishing by larger parties, usually a district undertaking. Since the owners are usually men of some age, while the fishing is done most often by the youths, the owner of a canoe often does not go out with it on a fishing trip. He has no special claim to the catches made in his canoe. If the chiefs ask his permission to have it taken out, this is more an assignment than a request. He would have difficulty in justifying a refusal, unless the canoe was unseaworthy. In that case it would be his duty to see that it was repaired.

Canoes for sea-burial are similarly assigned. Tom seemed proud to have his new canoe used for the burial of the chief Paliuilimar, who died soon after it was completed. It was kept in the canoe-house nearest the chief's residence, but was not the only sailing canoe there. The reason Tom gave for using it was 'because it is the biggest.' Both the dead chief and the owner of the canoe were honored. An owner would not undertake an interisland voyage in his canoe without permission of the chiefs, and would take passengers without expecting payment. In sum, the owner of a large canoe, as of a canoe-house and most other property, is in effect more a custodian than an owner as we think of ownership. Large canoes, like canoe-houses, come very near being public property.

Asked whether there is such a thing as clan property, Tom said there is. The reef and the lagoon, he declared, belong to his clan, Sauvelarlk. Members of other clans fish there only on sufferance. Now Tom was always inclined to make the most of any claim to distinction in which he could share,

whether the distinction was his own exclusively, or that of his clan, or that of Ifaluk as against other islands. I asked him whether other clans had similar claims. He was not sure, and, as usual, referred the question to the chiefs. The first to hand were Maroligar and Toromann. They talked it over, but did not give me an answer. "Some other chief," Tom explained, "might say 'This chief, 'e lie.!"

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All five chiefs then held a meeting and discussed the question long and vehemently. Then they issued, through Tom, an official answer. No clan, neither Sauvelārīk or any other, they declared, has exclusive claim to the use of reef and lagoon. They belong to all the chiefs. Ordinarily it is all right for anyone to use them; but if there is a shortage, as during the time after a hurricane, the chiefs may say "Only eat a little;" in other words, may ration what food there is.*

This pronouncement did not dispose of the question of clan property other than the reef and lagoon. It was not until later that I learned of the exclusive right of Kovalū clan to turtle, and of SauvelārIk to yellow-fin tuna. These were the only cases found of exclusive claims to property on the part of clans. Actually, these are not instances of ownership in the ordinary sense, but prerogatives of rank; for these two clans hold the highest chiefly titles.

Homesteads are spoken of as belonging to particular clans. Again the association with rank in the case of Kovalū and SauvelārIk provides the clearest cases. The homestead Uelepi, as just noted, is said to be tabu to all but members of the clan and the husbands of the women--women of the senior lineage of Kovalū--who live there. SauvelārIk has a similar homestead, Tom hastened to assure me--Bwagolei, inland from the men's house, a site no longer inhabited.

In the beginning of our census by households, Tom said that the homestead Ilux, where the highest chief, Wolpetau, lived, "blong Wolpetau." He added that it was a homestead of the clan Bwel. But Wolpetau's clan is Kovalu. In living at Ilux, his wife's ancestral homestead, he follows the custom of matrilocal residence. The homestead "belongs to him!" in the sense that he lives there and, being the senior male, may have the final word, if he cares to, about household activities other than routine.

When we came to the homestead Val i Trel, Tom said "Blong WolpaitIk," though WolpaitIk lives at Uelepī. This is ownership in another sense. Val i Trel is WolpaitIk's ancestral homestead, but, following the custom of matrilocal residence, he has not lived there since he married. How much interest he takes in the affairs of the household is a matter of choice with him. Any wish of his would be respected, and might well be carried out. But ordinary affairs of this household would only concern him by way of his responsibility for his sister, who lives at Val i Trel. If the sister had sons, WolpaitIk would have an additional interest on their behalf; but as it happens she is childless.

^{*}As this decision was an act of the government, it will be discussed again from that point of view.

These cases illustrate a point already made in the discussion of homestead, household, and lineage. Homesteads are occupied and used by households, which are typically extended families; and they are inherited within maternal lineages. For practical purposes that statement covers the question of actual ownership, as distinguished from the imputed ownership by clans or individuals. In other words, title to the homestead is inherited within a group whose existence the natives never explicitly acknowledge—the lineage. Usufruct of it belongs to the household.

All the land on the atoll, except for the road, the sites of the men's house and canoe houses, and the beach between high and low water mark, is divided into tracts, which have names like those of the homesteads. The boundaries of these tracts are supposed to be a matter of common knowledge; at least, those directly concerned seem to have no doubt where they are. Any natural object—most often, apparently, a coconut tree no different from any other—serves as a boundary mark.

A man will say <u>bwogotai</u>--'my coconut land', as Tom translated it-either of tracts in which he has inherited a share through his mother, or tracts inherited in his wife's lineage, in which he shares the usufruct by virtue of living on her homestead and gathering coconuts and breadfruit for the household. When Tom said of a bit of coconut land through which we were passing, "This my land," I asked him if it belonged to him and nobody else. He answered, "Me and my sister and my sister's boy," the lineage again. I happen not to have a specific statement referring to land of the wife's lineage, but general discussions of the matter suggest that he might say first "This my land," then, if pressed, "blong my wife and my boy."

Ownership and inheritance of tracts in the taro swamp conform to the same rule. But in this case they are verbalized differently. Taro patches are spoken of as the property of any of the women who work them, or of their clan. Thus when Tom and his wife Lagajarong took us through the taro swamp so that she might give us a demonstration of weeding and planting, he said of the particular tracts we visited, not "my land" but "blong my wife." He added proudly that she had inherited seven such patches. To my usual follow-up question, he said they were patches belonging to her clan, Mangaulevar. When he pointed out a particularly large stretch as belonging to Wolpetau, I unfortunately failed to follow up the statement; but suspect that this land, or at least some of it, was inherited by Wolpetau's wife as a member of a lineage of Bwel clan. Members of that clan, traditionally associated with taro culture and now reduced to 11 members, probably have more taro land than they can care for. In this case, probable reasons for naming the chief rather than his wife as owner are his rank and the fact that as a public figure he was well known to me, while his wife was not.

To anyone accustomed to the rigor with which titles are searched and boundaries surveyed in our culture, the Ifaluk system of land tenure must

seem loose and vague. Yet it works satisfactorily. As long as there are enough coconuts, taro, and --in season--breadfruit to go around, their way of locating boundaries, which they consider exact but which might be open to question if tested closely, causes no difficulties. Presumably it would be quite a different matter if these crops were scarcer, or if foreign influence increased to a point where land was more intensively cultivated (if that is feasible), and productive of more than subsistence. Difficulties would almost certainly arise if the land became desirable to foreigners, and so began to be sold. In such a case the surveys, hearings and disputes that have tormented administrators of many other Pacific islands might be expected. But so long as the poor soil of Ifaluk is of no interest to foreigners the native system of land tenure will suffice. We heard of no disputes over ownership of land.

Domestic animals are, in effect, household property, except that ownership of dogs--or some of them--seems to be more individual. There are perceptible attachments between some dogs and some individual masters. The masters, at least when they are grown men, may feel free to dispose of these dogs without consulting the rest of the household. Tom got his dog in that way, as a gift from a friend on Faraulep. I heard of no gifts of pigs--their scarcity makes that less likely--nor even of chickens, though a cooked chicken may be offered as a gift of food. Ordinarily pigs and chickens are regarded as part of the household supply of food.

Certain coconut trees are owned and inherited in a special way. Although the run of the trees in the coconut groves "go with the land" according to the scheme just described, custom allows any man to ask permission to plant coconuts on another's land. As far as learned, refusal of such a request is unheard of. But such a planting would never be on a large scale. Only a small, even number of trees--usually two or four--will be planted. Half of them will belong to the owner of the land; more precisely, to his household and eventually his lineage. The other half will belong to the man who planted the nuts. And these will not be inherited according to the usual pattern, within his maternal lineage. They will pass to his son, and so on, patrilineally. A similar patrilineal inheritance of breadfruit trees was reported to Spiro.

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The advantage of this special kind of ownership is convenience. When a man gets thirsty, no matter where he is, he will probably own a coconut tree not far away where he can get a young nut to drink. Coconut trees and the fruit on them are very definitely not public property. Asked whether a man might take a nut from a tree that did not belong to him, Tom said, "very bad that." Having a tree of your own nearby reduces temptation to steal.

Tom added that it would be all right for us, since we were foreigners and had no trees of our own, to take nuts from other people's trees. But in practise the chiefs, as our hosts, kept us in drinking nuts, getting them from their own trees. Usually that meant from trees on land belonging to

their lineage; but some nuts were given us from trees on Katelu, nominally chiefs' property. And at least once we were regaled from a tree owned in the other way. After a stint of census-taking, I asked for a nut to drink. Wolpetau, who was with us during the first part of the census, assumed the obligation to provide drinking nuts for the two or us, because of his rank. (If he had not been present, the head of the household would have had them brought to us.) Wolpetau directed a boy to a particular tree nearby, which belonged to him.

In discussing this, Tom said there were other men who owned more trees than Wolpetau. Could Wolpetau, as highest-ranking chief, commandeer nuts or trees belonging to another? Yes, Tom answered; if Wolpetau wanted some, "no can keep 'im." When the same question came up in another connection, though, Tom denied any such right. Pretty surely the question is "academic." Though such a right would often be accorded a chief in discussing the extent of his authority, a chief would never think of exercising it, unless perhaps, in an emergency, for public use.

The only property which may pass patrilineally, beside coconut trees planted on another's land, is an intangible: the lore of a navigator or master-builder. The apprentice of such a specialist is typically his son. But this property is not rigidly entailed. Tom was teaching his navigator's lore to his eldest son while we were there; but he was also teaching it to his brother-in-law, and had already finished teaching it to his brother, Magaleisei, who had won recognition as palu. As part of this property, Tom had taught these pupils or apprentices his songs for divine guidance in navigation, including the long one which was not common knowledge among navigators, but which he regarded as his own special prayer. It had come to him patrilineally, from his father, who got it in turn from his father. I failed to check on whether, in either case, he used the English word "father" in a classificatory sense. If so, it would not change the patrilineal pattern of inheritance -- if that term may be applied to what is not simply given, but taught. But the most remote transfer of this prayer which he remembered was not patrilineal. The grandfather had received it from his father-in-law. The exclusiveness or secrecy with which this lore is kept, and the fact that the owner may be queath it at will, make it more strictly private property than any other discussed so far. Yet the voyages achieved by the skill of the navigator, and the canoes built by that of the shipwright, are used for the benefit of others as well as himself. So ownership of this lore is a trusteeship, like ownership of all kinds of property on Ifaluk.

Another approach to private property is handiwork, or some of it. Coarser baskets are made by either sex, and readily given or thrown away. If one is used more than once, it belongs to the person using it. If someone else wants one not in use, there is no hesitation about asking for it, or giving it. Finer baskets are made by women only, commonly for some man or boy of their household, or as a present to a lover. Once given, they become individual property, and are not readily given away.

Flower garlands, for the brief duration of their beauty or fragrance, follow a somewhat special pattern. A large part of the total is made for offering to the gods. Others are made for wearing by the maker. Still others are made by women for men, whether sons, husbands, or lovers. An offering of a garland to another is a common friendly gesture. As guests of the island, we received them almost daily. But there are limits to the giving even of a garland. In one of the love songs collected, a woman complains bitterly that her lover has given the flowers she made for him to another woman.

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The smaller fish-traps made by individual men are used, primarily by the maker, in small-scale fishing for his household. Any male member of the household--male, because women do not take part in this kind of fishing--would feel free to use such a trap, but would pretty surely ask the maker first, if there was any chance of his wanting to use it himself.

Larger fish-traps are made in the canoe-houses by groups of men, usually of the same neighborhood but not necessarily of the same house-hold. They are kept in the canoe-house, and taken out in large sailing canoes, on the order of the chief. As these are usually district expeditions, the traps are virtually district property.

Cloths are often woven by the women for immediate wear, whether by the maker or some other member of the household. Clothing once worn is rather definitely individual property, as it is almost everywhere. How much sharing of it there is among women, or men, of the same household or among close friends, like the proverbial college roommates in our culture, I could not make sure. Such sharing is not conspicuous, and my impression is that it is not very common. A man often keeps a loin-cloth in the neighborhood canoe-house, for a change. I never heard of anyone else touching such a cloth.

An industrious weaver will accumulate a surplus. They are her property in the sense that she has "first say" as to their disposal. She may wear any of them herself, or give one to whomever she chooses. She may offer one to a god, to be hung up in the men's house. If anyone in her household asks for one, or perceptibly needs one, she will feel an obligation to give it; though she still has some choice about which one to give. If a relative or neighbor dies, she will be obliged to give one or more cloths or sleeping mats as an expression of grief and an honor to the dead, to be wrapped about the body.

Rope made by the men follows exactly the same pattern. It is often made for immediate consumption, and readily given. If we were wrapping up a package for shipment, we had only to ask whoever was in the nearby cance-house, saying what size we wanted and how long, and he would immediately make it for us, no matter how many coils might be hanging in the cance-house ready for use. These were the property of their makers, to be used as they saw fit, and were never taken by others. But if rope were needed for any more or less communal use--lashing for a large cance, or

for the timbers of the canoe-house, or line for a seine--every man of the community concerned would feel an obligation to contribute. I did not hear of shirking such an obligation, but have no doubt that if such a case came to the attention of a chief, he would order the man to give rope or make it. And every male relative or neighbor contributed rope after a death, to be wrapped about the body. Spiro was told that a man who has little rope is looked down upon. Judging by the general absence of association between wealth and prestige, rope is probably valued more as a sign of industry than for its own sake.

Labor

The emphasis in the following discussion, as distinguished from what has been said about work in the section on technology, is on the allotment of tasks among the population and the direction and organization of those in which more than one person takes part.

The fundamental line of cleavage in division of labor, that by sex, has been sketched here and there under "Technology." The following table affords a synopsis and adds some details, without pretending to be exhaustive. The tasks biologically allotted to women, bearing and suckling children, are not included. Nor is their time-consuming sequel, child care. One reason for this is that the care of children devolves to some extent on whoever is available for it. The main burden falls on the women. But older children keep an eye on younger ones to a greater extent than with us. And men love to play with children. Not only does a man frequently hold a small child on his lap or keep it near him when he is at home; he will often take one to the canoe-house, where other men may help to keep it amused. But the main reason for dismissing this subject in a few words is that it is vital to Spiro's problem of personality formation, and will be fully discussed by him.

Division of Labor by Sex

| Activity | Women's Work | Men's Work | Both Sexes |
|--------------------|---|---|---|
| Production of food | Planting, cultivat- ing, & harvesting taro; Gathering wild plant foods | Planting trees Gathering coco- nuts & breadfruit Making & collect- ing toddy | Planting and gathering bananas |
| | Fishing about in shallow water (infrequent) | Fishing by the com- monest methods: with hook & line, traps, weirs, & nets. | Bonito drive: when a school enters lagoon (women's role subordinate.) |

| · 16 16 | | * | |
|----------------|------------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| Activity | Women's Work | Men's Work | Both Sexes |
| | Gathering shellfish | Torchlight fishing | Scouring reef at |
| | & other sea-food on | with dip-nets, on | night in household |
| | exposed reef by day | reef and in lagoon | or family parties. |
| | | to the second se | |
| | Digging coconut | Gathering small | |
| | crabs | crabs to bait traps | |
| | | Making nets, traps | |
| | | & other fishing tackl | le. |
| | Croting accounts | | |
| | Grating coconuts, | | |
| | extracting cream. | | |
| | Preparing taro & breadfruit. | | |
| | breadiruit. | | |
| | Daily cooking in | Occasional cooking i | n |
| | cook-sheds | earth oven, when lan | rge |
| | | fish are caught or a | |
| | | hog butchered | |
| | Cooking for feasts | | |
| | and for work-gangs | | * |
| | | Broiling fish to be sh | nared |
| | | by fishermen or othe | r |
| | | working parties. | |
| | | (No. 1 chief only: but | tcher- |
| | | ing and cooking turtle | |
| | | ing and cooking turti | 5) |
| | | Carving wooden bowl | S |
| | | (obsolescent) | Making coral pounders |
| | | | to mash taro & bread- |
| | | | fruit. |
| House-building | Plaiting screens | Hewing, fitting & | (Mostly youths) |
| nouse building | & floor-mats | assembling timbers | Gathering & strew- |
| | G 11001 111615 | | ing coral gravel for |
| | | | floors & platforms. |
| | | Putting thatch on | Plaiting thatch- |
| | | roof. | sheets. |
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| Activity | Women's Work | Men's Work | Both Sexes |
|-------------------------|--|--|---|
| Canoe-building | | Hewing, fitting & assembling timbers; painting hull | |
| | Plaiting strips of mat for sail | Assembling and rigging sail | |
| Navigation | | All navigation | |
| Preparation of clothing | Preparation of bast for weaving | Making looms | Preparing head- dresses, garlands & other finery |
| | Weaving & dyeing | | |
| | Assembling belts, necklaces & other ornaments of shell or turtle-shell* | Cutting shell and turtle shell into beads for belts, strips for bracelets, etc.* | |
| Basketry | Plaiting baskets of cured, doubled coconut leaf | | Plaiting makeshift baskets of green coconut leaf. |
| | Plaiting pandanus baskets. | | |
| Mats | All plaiting of mats | | |
| Cordage | Preparing sennit fiber | Twisting rope | |

The arrangement by activities, though it seemed on the whole more illuminating than any other, obscures some generalizations that could be indicated more clearly in some other way. For example, woodwork, even the making of such a woman's implement as the loom, is virtually a monopoly of the men; while weaving and plaiting, except for makeshift coconut baskets, are women's monopoly.

^{*} Working in shell is a rather infrequent task. Necklaces and ear-ornaments are not abundant; and while nearly every woman has a belt, most of these are obtained by trade from other islands, especially Eaurupik.

Men are not scorned, however, if they trespass into basket-making. The chief Maroligar had learned on another island--Faraulep, I think--how to plait a large, round basket of double coconut leaf that the women found convenient for storing fiber for weaving. Maroligar made several of these baskets for female relatives. This seems to be one of the matters in which room is left for individual taste and aptitude. Maroligar was much more industrious than most of the men; deft with his hands, and something of a putterer. Some of the things he enjoyed doing reminded me of a weather-beaten skipper I once knew, who took to knitting as a pastime at sea.

Although the number of tasks allotted to men and to women in the table is about the same, most of the time-consuming drudgery falls to the women. Whenever we suggested this to any of the men, they admitted that it was so. Their stock defense against the implication that they were not doing their full share was: "But we do the dangerous kinds of work. We are the ones who risk our lives at sea, and climb trees to gather coconuts and toddy." Men also do the kinds of work that require extreme muscular effort, as lifting heavy timbers into place in the superstructure of a house, and extreme endurance, as a long sea-voyage (women take such voyages, but less often). Women certainly have their time more fully taken up with work than men do. And their work, if less risky, is more monotonous. On the whole, they have far the harder time of it.

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Nevertheless, the women can hardly be called downtrodden. Though ostensibly subordinate in most matters, their work is not supervised by men. In accordance with the high value placed on kindly speech, they are not ordered about. Within the limits set by tradition, they manage to do as they please a good deal of the time. They make use of their sexual attractiveness to win at least occasional deference. Several times the chief Maroligar came to us, rather sheepishly, to request a can of meat or fish for his ailing wife. Our impression was, not that he was using her as a pretext, but that he was somewhat henpecked.

Division of labor by age is less systematic and extensive than that by sex. Most of it can be brought under two heads: one, reserving difficult and responsible tasks to those old enough to be trusted with them; the other relieving those past their physical prime from the more strenuous and dangerous jobs. An example of the first is that only grown women use up much of the scarce banana fiber in weaving; of the second, that elderly men are not expected to climb coconut trees, whether for young drinking nuts or for toddy.

Rope-making is work for mature men; just why is not certain. There may be more than one factor involved. For one, the preparation of fiber, which is women's work, is laborious. This limits the supply, and the seniority of the older men may give them first claim to what there is. Another possibility is that this slow, steady work may appeal more to middle-aged men than to the more vigorous, comparatively restless youngsters. Still

a third factor may be the ascription of a certain dignity to rope twisting, which makes it a more appropriate occupation for grave and reverend seniors than for upstart youths. Such an association between the manufacture of sennit cordage and high status has been established in Samoa. Te Rangi Hiroa (Samoan Material Culture, p. 248) calls it "a chiefly custom" there and adds: "The status of the occupation was recognized by terming the braiding materials a chief's staff." (The fact that the technique there is braiding rather than twisting seems irrelevant.) In Ifaluk the connection is at most less explicit. If rank is indeed attributed to the occupation, it is the rank of all mature males, whether chiefs or commoners.

Division of labor by rank is minimal. If a chief chose to refrain from manual labor, it is my impression that he would be considered within his rights. But the only chiefs who did so in 1947-48--Wolpetau and Paliuilimar --would have been justified by age even if they had been commoners. Maroligar, not very old but afflicated with some pelvic trouble that made his gait a hobble, and gave him painful days after physical exertion, also refrained from heavy work to some extent. But at light tasks he was the most industrious man of our neighborhood, if not of the whole atoll. He took charge of Katelu, site of the men's house, the former men's house, a canoe-house and two stone piers; and worked daily at removing brush and rubbish, planting little tufts of sod, and similar park-keeping; even, at the risk of pain, piled coral blocks to repair the seaward end of one of the piers, which had been battered by a typhoon. WolpaitIk, youngest of the chiefs and burly--even fat, a rarity on Ifaluk--threw his bulk into whatever hard work was going on. Toromann, though slight and getting along in years, was a skilful adzeman, and almost as industrious as Maroligar. He was one of the steadiest workers on Tom's canoe. He also suggested and carried out, partly with his own hands, several improvements in our camping setup.

A minimum of individual specialization is one of the most nearly consistent marks of communities we call primitive—that word of so many meanings that they threaten to cancel each other out. In that respect Ifaluk is truly primitive. Most of the work can be done by any able-bodied individual of the right sex and age. Only the following activities are reserved to specialists:

- 1. government, to the chiefs
- 2. butchering of turtle, to the highest chief of Kovalu clan
- 3. navigation, to accredited palū
- 4. carpentry on canoes and public buildings, to accredited sennap
- 5. tattooing (a complete job only), to taupotu
- 6. some healing procedures, to tautave
- 7. intercession with the gods, to taubwongbwong

Even this brief list has to be further qualified. In government, navigation, and carpentry, it is only the planning and direction that are reserved to specialists; others do most of the labor involved. Tattooing is an individual skill; but it is only the application of the complete traditional pattern that is reserved to taupotu. Anyone can put on other scattered motifs, as leaping porpoise along the outside of the legs. Moreover, in Ifaluk this was an obsolete specialty during 1947-48. The only living taupotu had long ceased to practise his craft. Men who wanted to complete tattooing--if any still do-would have to seek a taupotu on some other island. This had not been uncommon in the past; Tom, for example, had been tattooed on Woleai. The degree of specialization of healing and religious activity will be discussed in the chapter on religion.

Some other skills, particularly fine woodwork in small articles like statues and men's combs, are specialties without title or formal training. Tom summed up the situation: "Some men savvy; all men no savvy." One such, who made mere statues than anyone else, was WétrIliwók, emaciated by some ailment that prevented his doing heavy work, but deft with his hands. When he wanted specimens of the finer men's combs; skilfully pegged together from little splints of straight-grained ria wood, Tom found a man to make them. He also undertook to have a wooden bowl hewn out for each of us; but, whether because of scarcity of ragues wood, or decadence of the art in these days of metal pots and pans, or some other reason, the bowls were never forthcoming.

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Every man, when he is not loafing, is a laboring man as well as a jack of nearly all trades. Chiefs are not exempt from manual labor. For that matter, the one-man specialty of the top-ranking chief, butchering and cooking turtle, is hard, messy work. This chief also brought a stick of wood to several of the meetings which were held daily for a time in order to supply me with song texts; and, during the talk and singing, finished a particularly well made shuttle for a woman's loom. The women are equally versatile. Skill in weaving and plaiting, as well as cooking, is expected of every one of them.

Traditionally, two clans, as noted under "Social Structure," have special occupations; Bwél, that of horticulture; Sabwél, that of running errands and carrying out orders for the chiefs. Whatever practical importance these specialties may have had at some former time, in 1947-48 they were purely nominal. Members of these clans put in their time no differently from anybody else.

As to direction of labor, final authority over every job of concern to more than one household rests with the chiefs. All such jobs, like district fishing parties, repairing a canoe-house, or a general clean-up, are undertaken at their order. But it was only during the bonito drives that chiefs were seen to assume active command.

The building of a large sailing canoe requires permission of the chiefs, presumably because it makes such inroads on the available manpower. The course of the work itself is under the direction of an expert shipwright, who may or may not also be a chief. Tom, as a sennap, was nominally in charge of the building of his canoe. But since his time had been allotted by the chiefs to Spiro and me, he delegated supervision of the work on the canoe to his brother, Magaleisei, also a sennap.

An observer who had not been told in advance who was in charge of a job would ordinarily have difficulty in picking him out. The only tasks in which a boss was clearly in evidence, within my observation, were the drawing of lines on what was to be the bottom of a canoe, and the hurried launching that followed the sighting of a school of bonito in the lagoon. The drawing of lines has to be constantly, narrowly supervised. The sighting of a school of bonito is a crucial moment and calls for utmost haste. On the two occasions when we witnessed it, the usually mild Maroligar came hobbling to the canoe-house at the best speed he could make, bawling orders at the top of his voice, his eyes blazing.

Maroligar as superintendent of repairs on a canoe-house was quite a different person. He sat in the shade, rarely speaking, and only by careful watching could it be seen that he kept a closer eye on the proceedings than

any of those who were resting between spells of work.

At crucial moments he did indeed give orders; but so did nearly everybody else. When a big timber was being lifted into place, or when some post or lashing seemed about to give way, the almost continual quiet chatter among the men rose to a hubbub. Everybody yelled what might be called either orders or vehement suggestions; few gave heed. Under those conditions, it was a surprise to us foreign observers that the work went along as well as it did. One probable reason for the fairly steady progress, in spite of these recurring crises, was that the procedure was governed, in main outline, by tradition. Except for a beginner or two, everybody had done essentially the same job time and time again. Even the beginners had watched just such jobs from early childhood.

The slow but exciting task of rounding up a school of bonito was similarly marked by periodic outbursts of shouting along the line of canoes. At the climax of the successful attempt, when the line of seines was herding the big fish to the beach, a high proportion of the men on the job were acting as if they were in charge. Particularly noticeable, to an observer on the shore, was GauaisIg, a respected craftsman but too old for strenuous work. He hobbled back and forth along the beach, gesticulating and shouting at the top of his rather feeble voice. Nobody seemed to pay the slightest attention.

In building a canoe, the sharing of authority was even more evident. I often happened, in the job we had a chance to follow from day to day, that more than one recognized expert was working at a time. One of them, Toromann, was also a chief; but another, Magaleisei, was nominally in

charge. Neither distinction could have been guessed from their behavior. There was no jockeying for precedence, as might be expected in our culture unless a rigid order of precedence was observed. Everybody felt free to sight along a line and give his opinion about it. There were frequent pauses for consultation. Nobody seemed to be criticizing anybody else, or defending himself against criticism.

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That sort of divided command is obviously inefficient. Yet it has an advantage rarely attained in modern American culture. Every worker gets far more fun out of his work than he could by taking orders from a foreman, who in turn follows a blueprint. In the Ifaluk way of working, everybody shares in the joy of feeling himself an executive, whether anybody follows his instructions or not. The morale of the workers is enviably high. Add the custom of dressing up in a strip or two of white young coconut leaf at the beginning of a communal job, and celebrating the end of it with a feast, and it will be plain that Ifaluk combines work and play more successfully than has been done in our culture since the days of barn-raisings and husking-bees. Ifaluk still extends democracy to economic production, a sphere in which we have sacrificed it to speed, quantity and precision.

The incentives that put men to work and keep them at it in Ifaluk are quite different from the wages and profits on which we rely. A man goes to work there because of some felt obligation or for the fun of it. In the long run, he will be repaid by the results of work others do for him. But the connection between his effort and its eventual reward may be remote. In the case of work done for his household it is clear enough. His housemates share the results of his efforts, and he shares the results of theirs. There is nearly as direct a connection when he works with others on some public project, whose benefits all will enjoy. When he helps build a canoe for another man, the kind of reward he may expect is more complicated. He will be partly fed while on the job. That is only part payment. The rest of it is roundabout, and indefinitely postponed. Sooner or later, he will want help, whether for a canoe of his own or to meet some other need. When that time comes, help, including the services of the man for whom he built the canoe or his family, will be forthcoming on the same terms as the labor he provided. In the long run, everybody comes out even. The people of Ifaluk seem to understand quite well how the system works. A few examples will help make it clear to one accustomed to our economic system.

In the making of Tom's canoe, the obligations that brought men to the work were of three kinds: (1) kinship; (2) neighborliness; (3) friendship. On the big days, when many hands were needed, all the neighbors rallied round. Most of the workmen seemed to be from Falārik, where Tom lived and where the work was going on; but there were some from Rauau, and Tom said proudly that some men, not relatives of his, came all the way from Falālap just out of friendship.

Sociability might be added as an additional motive with all hands. On those particular days, that job and the assemblage it brought together probably

afforded the best entertainment to be found on the island. And on some of these days there was still another inducement, sometimes held out in our culture in the one word "refreshments" on notices or invitations. Women of Tom's two households cooked and brought food for the workers. Spiro was impressed by the spirit of gaiety and good-fellowship conspicuous in all communal tasks.

For the long pull--the many days when only a few workers stayed on the job--the obligation that brought most of them was kinship. The steadiest workers were: (1) Magaleisei, Tom's brother, to whom he had delegated supervision of the work while he was on duty with the visiting anthropologists; (2) the chief Toromann, whose wife is Tom's sister (my records do not make clear whether she is what we would call a sister, or whether Tom used the word in an extended sense, in which case she is what we would call a cousin); (3) Aueligar, Toromann's son, whom Tom would call vatuwei (my sister's son); (4) Siuman, another sister's son; (5) Auilimar, husband of one of Tom's sisters; (6) Tom's two grown sons, one his own, the other adopted. The elder, his own son, was rather sulky and uncooperative toward him. (Analysis of this strained father-son relationship falls in Spiro's field.)

Three of these men--Magaleisei, Toromann, Aiulimar--were considered master-shipwrights. Aueligar, an intelligent and energetic young man, is probably on his way to that distinction. In that case, beside meeting his obligation toward his mother's brother, the job would count toward finishing his apprenticeship.

The motivation in this case was not always strong enough to keep a crew of men on the job; perhaps because of the unusual circumstance that Tom himself was absent so much of the time, working for us, and hence could not inspire the other workers with his own enthusiasm. On October 2, he asked the chiefs to issue an order for more men to work on his canoe. The word spread rapidly, and within about an hour a number of men appeared, and got on with the job of fitting and fastening the planks of the hull. But on October 5, there was a public task--replacing the corner post in a canoe-house--that took all available manpower. On the day after that, only Toromann and two other elderly men were at work on the canoe.

October 15 Tom announced angrily to the chiefs that he was not going to work for us on the following day. He was going to work on his canoe. Nobody had been at work on it for several days, he said; and if he spent all his time working for us, it never would be finished. This episode will be considered in detail in the chapter on government. Here it is enough to say that thereafter work on the canoe went more steadily.

Some test of how typical the building of Tom's canoe may be is afforded by a lesser job of the same kind that was carried out in January, 1948—the relashing of a canoe belonging to Gabwileisei of Rauau district. Gabwileisei, not a sennap himself, called on GauaisIg of Falalap to supervise the job. The two are kinsmen, Tom said. I do not know what the relationship is, beyond the fact that they are not of the same clan, Gabwileisei's clan being Sauwel, GauaisIg's Kovalū.

On the first day a considerable number of men assembled. GauaisIg brought some with him from Falalap. Most of the men of the neighborhood also appeared. Their obligation, Tom explained, was that whenever that canoe brought in a good catch of fish, they would receive a share of it. Altogether, on that day, there were more men than there was room for about the canoe, so they spelled each other. Husked young drinking nuts were distributed.

Though the job took only about a week, the attendance quickly fell off.

Again the faithful few were kinsmen: (1) Arigomar, a sister's son of Gabwileisei;
(2) Saralimwan, another sister's son; (3) Magaleisei, whose wife is the daughter of a sister; so that he lives on Gabwileisei's ancestral homestead; and (4) Metagesou, another affinal relative—his wife is related to Gabwileisei, Tom was not sure just how. Old GauaisIg, having got the job organized and under way, did not bother to attend every day.*

The pattern seems to be about the same as Tom's canoe. Again neighborliness exerted a perceptible pull, but only kinship kept on pulling men to the job for its whole duration. Among kinsfolk, sister's son ("true" or classificatory) were again prominent, showing that the avunculate gives a man a stronger claim on the services of his sisters' sons than on other relatives.

Rethatching or repairing a canoe-house is a district job. All the men of the district, whether the particular canoe-house is their neighborhood club or not, are expected to take part. The women help, too; plaiting some of the thatch-sheets for a thatching job, and cooking food for the modest feast which is the proper conclusion for any public task. Sometimes this feast is served several days after the work itself, in which case another job for the men of the district—a district fishing expedition—may help provide food for it. In these district undertakings the claim of kinship is still perceptible, but is now subordinate to that of locality. Some men who were brought up in the district concerned, but have moved away by marriage to another district, will come back on these occasions to the old neighborhood to help with the work and share in the festivities. Men's dances (ur) are also district undertakings. Particular dances are the specialty of particular districts. For these, too, men who have married out of a district will commonly return, and rehearse and perform for the district in which they grew up.

A few public works concern the whole atoll. In these, kinship ties become irrelevant. Most conspicuous are the drives to round up a school of bonito in the lagoon. Everybody turns out, and everybody shares in the catch when there is one.

Another, but related, task of this kind was undertaken in October, 1947. One or more of the big seines kept in the canoe-house on Falalap had rotted

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^{*} Other cases, noted by Spiro: "Those who assisted the owner were his mother's classificatory sister's son, his mother's brother, his foster brother, and his ad mother's classificatory sister's husband. In another instance, the man was assisted by his father, the foster father of his daughter, and his sister's husband."

beyond repair. This was a matter for the attention of the chiefs, as the nominal owners of these seines. They ordered the manufacture of a new seine for Falalap.

For some days thereafter men could be seen busy on sections of seine, not only in the canoe-house on Falalap but in the others, all the way to northernmost Falarik. Now this seine was to be kept in Falalap, and used more often than not for district expeditions from which only the people of Falalap would benefit. Why should the men of other districts be called upon to help make it? In answer to this question, Tom replied that, in case of a bonito drive, the whole island takes part, and shares the benefit. So the making of these seines. which calls for a large expenditure of material and labor, is considered the task of the whole atoll. Like all such tasks, it involved reciprocal obligations. When it is FalarIk's turn to get a new seine, Falalap men will help. Incidentally this undertaking required individual contributions, not only of labor, but of material, sennit cord, much of which had been made individually before this particular use of it was foreseen. Such cordage, we have noted, is regarded as individual property, though with the element of trusteeship involved in all individual ownership on Ifaluk. Spiro noted another case of collaboration between districts. In the clean-up of the whole island, Rauau completed its work before less populous FalarIk; thereafter, a number of Pauau men and boys helped Falarlk for two days.

The role of women in manufacture of a new seine followed the usual pattern. In the first place, women had prepared the fiber of which the cord was made. This was individual work. Toward the end of the job women took part in groups. While men from all the districts took their sections of net, mostly unfinished, to the Falalap cance-house and went on with the work there, the women of Falalap prepared food for the assemblage. On the first day of this, I counted 24 bowls and baskets, and believe there were some others that escaped my count. On what was officially the final day (actually some finishing touches took several days after that), a still larger gathering required a still larger feast, this time contributed from all parts of the atoll. My count that time was 52 baskets and pots; and later a canoe came from FalarIk, loaded high with more, which I did not manage to count.

Different kinds of fishing are carried on by groups of all sizes, and afford a review of all the forms of cooperation exemplified by other tasks. To begin with the smallest, a man may go fishing alone to feed his household or meet some special obligation, such as that involved in adopting a child. All the men of a household may unite for similar purposes. These small fishing parties are united both by kinship and coresidence.

Larger parties, overstepping kinship lines but still united, as a rule, by residence in the same neighborhood or district, are required to man some kinds of fishing apparatus--rop drag, seine, large trap (which is taken out to sea in a sailing canoe, and so calls for a full crew). Fishing with tackle of these kinds is most often a district enterprise. In the case of rop drag or seine, all the men of the district, except for the infirm or a few who may have other urgent

tasks, are expected to turn out. It does not take so many to man a canoe, and expeditions with the big traps, while usually district undertakings too, are generally manned by crews who are age-mates as well as neighbors-the groups of young men who gather in the different canoe-houses. Finally must be mentioned once more the bontio drive, which calls out the largest possible group, the entire able-bodied population.

Some idea of the nature and frequency of public works--tasks involving groups larger than a household--is given by the following list of journal entries, which is approximately complete only for the district of Rauau. One job, the building of Tom's canoe in Falarlk district, was going on nearly every day from the beginning until well on in January, though only the crucial days of work are noted.

- Aug. 1. Bonito in lagoon. Entire population busy all day. (The fish escaped from the seines during the night.)
- Aug. 9. Bonito in lagoon again. Entire population busy all day. School captured toward sundown.
- Aug. 10-12. All work tabu except smoking of bonito.
- Sept. 5-12 (approximately) Clean-up of island, ordered by chiefs at general meeting Sept. 4, after visit of American ship.
- Sept. 20. Fishing for feast held at conclusion of religious ceremony.
- Sept. 27. Planks of Tom's canoe glued and permanently lashed.
- Sept. 28. New thatch plaited for canoe-house Fan ni Wa, in Falarik district.
- Sept. 30. New thatch put on roof of Fan ni Wa.
- Oct. 3. Chiefs order men out to work on Tom's canoe.
- Oct. 5. Corner post replaced in canoe-house Fale Penga, Rauau district.
- Oct. 6. District fishing. (For feast at conclusion of canoe-house job? Not noted.)
- Oct. 11. District fishing.

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- Oct. 13-18. Young men go out in canoes every morning with large traps.
- Oct. 19. Fishing by united forces of Rauau and Falarlk.
- Oct. 21. Post replaced on canoe-house Pa'urel. Done by some men, but not all from both.Rauau and Falalap.
- Oct. 22. Falalap district fishing for feast to celebrate conclusion of canoe-house job. Feast held late in the day.
- Oct. 24. (and thereafter nearly every night until Nov. 15 at three canoe-houses; one in Falarlk, one in Rauau, and one in Falalap.) Men rehearse at night for performance of <u>ur</u> dance, ordered by chiefs at request of anthropologist.
- Oct. 25. (approximately, and daily thereafter.) Men at work in all canoe-houses making new seine for Falalap.
- Oct. 31. Feast at Falalap for conclusion of seine-making; which, however, continued thereafter for several days.

- Nov. 5. New thatch sheets plaited for canoe-house Sabwolap, Rauau district.
- Nov. 6. Rauau district fishing.
- Nov. 7. Thatch put on roof of canoe-house Sabwolap.
- Nov. 10. Thatch put on roof of canoe-house Pa'ugop in FalarIk.
- Nov. 14. No work except preparing feast to conclude final performance of ur dance.
- Nov. 15. Men of all districts take part in final performance of ur.
- Nov. 16 (and on into December). Young men out in canoes nearly every morning with big fish-traps.
- Nov. 25. Thatch sheets plaited for men's house. (Thatch put on several days later-exact date not noted.)
- Dec. 3. Over-water 'head' or latrine built for anthropologists.
- Dec. 6. Young men of Rauau went trolling over distant reef Vasulos.
- Dec. 9-11. Stringer replaced on canoe-house Sabwolap, Rauau district.
- Dec. 12. Boys of Rauau fishing for feast on completion of canoe-house job. Feast held late that day.
- Dec. 13. Canoes out with traps in the morning, several parties with torches scoured reef at night.
- Dec. 24. Extra tie-beam and king-post installed in canoe-house Sabwolap, recently repaired.
- Dec. 28. Outrigger fitted on Tom's canoe.
- Dec. 31. Canoe sail repaired by small group in front of one of the Rauau canoe houses.
- Jan. 2. District fishing by young men (Rauau) for feast to conclude four days of prayer for a sick woman.
- Jan 6. Trial run of Tom's new canoe, completed except for finishing touches and painting.
- Jan. 7-14 (approximately). Re-lashing of Gabwileisei's canoe.
- Jan. 24. District fishing, Rauau.
- Jan. 26. District fishing, Rauau.
- Feb. 2-3. Torchlight fishing on reef by young men.

To sum up: work is undertaken and working groups formed, to meet some felt obligation. The smaller groups unite to meet the needs of kinsfolk and neighbors, with kinship the strongest bond. Larger groups are formed mainly on the basis of common residence. The district or, in the case of Falalap, the island, are the units of most frequent cooperation on this larger scale. A few tasks call for cooperation of the whole population. Women cooperate according to the same pattern as men. In the larger groups, they usually play a supporting role.

The immediate rewards of group labor are ordinarily confined to sharing in the sociability of the gathering and in food distributed during the course of the work or at its close; sometimes, also, in the products of the work--a catch

of fish or a canoe-house which all the men may use. Other payment comes in roundabout ways and may be indefinitely delayed. That is, a stint of work does not entitle the worker to a specified return from a specified employer, as with us; but does give him a claim to equivalent services, whenever he needs them, from whoever is available to help. There seems to be no thought of one individual profiting more than another, or at another's expense.

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The framework within which goods and services are distributed has been partly stated, partly implied, in the foregoing discussion. A summary of the main points follows:

Each individual shares in the use of the homestead and arable land of his maternal lineage. This involves a claim, not only to shelter, but also to food from cultivated plants and domestic animals.

Claims of this kind are lifelong and inalienable. What we call real property changes hands only as individual claims are initiated by birth or adoption, or extinguished by death.

A man acquires an additional claim by marriage, when he joins the house-hold of his wife. Thereafter he lives mainly on the produce of her land, but without losing his right to draw on his own heritage. In cases of residence other than matrilocal, all who take up residence on some homestead other than their maternal one assume similar claims to the new homestead and whatever property goes with it.

Collected food--fish (except yellow-fin tuna), other sea-food (except turtle), land crabs, terns--is shared among the households of those who get it, or distributed farther if there is a surplus. For example, fish caught by a district expedition are distributed among all households of the district. If any are left over, they go to other districts. The exceptions, delicacies reserved for the clans of highest rank, are also distributed beyond these clans as far as the supply will go.

Each individual is obliged to contribute services, according to sex, age, and physical condition, by taking part in the work of his household and in communal tasks carried out by his neighborhood, district, island, or by the whole population of the atoll.

Specialization, beyond the general division of labor by sex and age, is confined to a few occupations: government, navigation, supervision of carpentry on canoes and public buildings, tattooing, some forms of healing, and some religious activities.

This economic system provides, indeed imposes, approximate equality of wealth. Some lineages, to be sure, have more arable land than others. But none is landless. And none can benefit from more land than its members can cultivate, nor as a rule--since there is no market for staple products--dispose of more than they can consume. Further distribution on special occasions which constitute exceptions to this rule, will be discussed later.

This situation offers very little opportunity or incentive for a prestige economy. Not only can no individual or group acquire much more property than others; there would be no advantage in doing so. Honor and status are not equated with possession or expenditure of material goods, except in a few cases, as canoe ownership and display at funerals.

Control of labor is almost as equalitarian as ownership of property. The chiefs, and, within the household, the senior individuals, can command to some extent the services of others. But tradition channels, and in effect limits, the purposes to which labor is applied. It is used only for the common welfare, never to enrich one individual or group at the expense of others.

Exchange

This economic system entails a constant interchange of services, but tends to minimize exchange of goods. Production is for subsistence almost exclusively; only rarely for trade. There is, to be sure, some routine exchange within the household, determined by the customary division of labor. Men--young men especially--provide coconuts, toddy, breadfruit, fish, timber, cordage. Women provide taro, cooked food, mats, the better baskets, woven cloth, fiber for cordage. Since the goods involved are owned jointly, it is services that are exchanged in this daily housekeeping.

Exchange beyond the household also involves services more often than material goods, as has been brought out in the discussion of labor. In addition to the obligation of return services imposed by a contribution of labor, the food served to a working party on the completion of a task, and

at intervals during the course of longer jobs, is part payment.

Most other exchanges of property consist of gifts appropri

Most other exchanges of property consist of gifts appropriate to special occasions. Conspicuous among such occasions for giving is a death. Women bring cloths and mats to adorn the body and wrap it up for burial. Men bring coils of rope. These gifts involve association, exceptional in Ifaluk, between material goods and honor. Cloths, mats, and rope are offered partly for use, partly as tokens of respect and grief. Consequently, the bulkier the wrappings of the body, the greater the honor accorded the dead.

A feeling for moderation in this respect was shown by the chief Toromann during the preparations for burial of his colleague Paliuilimar. Toromann decided at a certain point that enough cloths had been used to wrap the body, and redistributed a few as a surplus. As far as I could make out, these were not--at least, not all--returned to the givers. But they may well have been given to households which had made particularly lavish contributions.

For four days after a death, the closest relatives, in token of mourning, must abstain from all work, even preparation of food. This calls for gifts of another kind. Relatives and neighbors prepare extra food during this period and bring it to the bereaved household. These gifts are not repaid or returned directly. But in the long run all such giving is reciprocal. That is,

gifts received by a mourning household amount to reciprocation for gifts it has contributed or will contribute to other households when their time of mourning comes.

Spiro observed one transaction that has all the look of a sale. His account of it follows: "I was sitting with Tom and two other men in a canoe-house in FalarIk, when a canoe paddled by men from Falalap came up. The men beached their canoe, then sat on the beach, conversing among themselves. Tom asked them what they were doing there. They said they had come to acquire a certain tree, which they wanted to make a canoe. Tom told them who the owner of the tree was and some of them went to call him. In the meantime, the others unloaded a number of blankets and coils of rope, which was the payment for the tree. There was no bargaining or discussion, the Falalap men giving what they thought the tree was worth, and the owner accepting the payment without question. He neither examined nor counted their payment, nor did he attempt to keep the tree. Later, I asked Tom whether the exchange was fair, and he said that the payment was very generous."

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The only difference between this exchange and a sale in our culture is the absence of any agreement about the price. This, however, taken with the extreme rarity of such transactions, and the usual pattern of gift exchange, is enough to suggest that this, too, is gift exchange rather than purchase in our sense. It would not have been proper for the owner of the tree to refuse to part with it. Neither would it have been proper for him to count the property brought him, which indicates that it was not so much a price as a return gift. A more nearly comparable transaction in our culture, if this view is correct, would be a Christmas present, which can not be refused and should not be too narrowly evaluated; but which does confer an obligation to return a gift of approximately equal worth.

Additional payment to the experts in charge of a job consists mostly of the prestige that goes with authority. A rare instance of a more acquisitive attitude, involving insistence upon material payment, is the conclusion of the myth which tells of the divine origin of tattooing. After the god Wolfat had first taught a few men how to apply the designs, many applied to have their skins decorated. "But Wolfat told them to put the designs only on those who gave them many fine presents—cloths, rope, coconut trees, and whatever else they might desire." Since the sole surviving master—tattooer of Ifaluk, who told the tale, had long retired from practise, I could not suspect him individually of adding this as a profitable postscript. Presumably the conclusion was as traditional as the rest of the story. But it does seem to require avarice, which is unusual in Ifaluk, of the practitioners of this craft.

Destruction of property is a traditional outlet for extreme grief or rage --witness the wrecking of houses by Galet in the myth, when he was made to feel what a loss he had suffered in the abduction of his wife. Such destruction may appear as an extreme form of mourning. The only instance during our stay was the act of a young man of Falalap after his mother's death. He burned their house. He had been particularly attached to her. In

addition, he was deeply and frequently disturbed by more or less violent outburs on the part of his father, who was the most troublesome of the island's psychotics, and had kept the mother in a state of terror toward the end of her life. It seems safe to say that the relief which this act may have afforded was its only reward. It is economic only as an exceptional form of consumption of property.

Absence of any exchange or distribution of gifts on the occasion of a marriage is part of one of the most conspicuous gaps in the culture of Ifaluk-the lack of any rite of passage to solemnize this occasion. One way of saying it is that, while there are marriages in Ifaluk, there are no weddings.

Adoption does involve gifts of food from the parents who receive the child to those who give it. Tom's way of telling it made it a more individual affair --an obligation of the adopting father to the biological mother, just after the birth of a child already bespoken for adoption. Characteristically, this is not thought of as payment for the child, but only as a contribution to the mother, so that she may have plenty of milk to make the child grow and thrive. The gift of a child, like any gift in Ifaluk, does confer an obligation; but not one that can be liquidated by payment of a specified price. These obligations are more like the social obligations than the economic ones of our culture. No one transaction can be final. Each is a step in a relationship that is expected to continue, and one of the principal motives involved is the maintenance of good will.

Gifts are expected from the chiefs on certain public occasions. Other men of prominence may also offer them. Commonest of the occasions are religious assemblages, when the gods are invoked in song and dance. Any of the chiefs may walk along in back of the rows of dancers, holding in his right hand, high and away from the body, some small present. A piece of native plug tobacco is the commonest. At this time all the people are seated. Anyone near enough and bold enough may spring up, snatch the gift from the hand of the chief, and return to his seat. Boys are the most eager takers, but older men may spring up too. Women never do. Apparently that much audacity would not be considered becoming in them.

Not all the chiefs take part in this giving. I can recall seeing WolpaitIk only on the receiving end. This is not necessarily a sign of greed. He was the youngest of the chiefs, both in years and in length of service, and may have been more comfortable in the humbler role. Yet the fattest man on the atoll can not be absolved from all suspicion of greed.

Paliuilimar, too, only sat and looked on. Probably that was because of age and weakness, for at other times he was a ready giver. Once when a group of young men were going about the island at night, singing to exorcise an evil spirit, they called on Paliuilimar at his house early in the proceedings. The old chief appeared in the doorway, holding a particularly large piece of the usual plug tobacco. This was a gift to reward the pious endeavors of the young men and their leader Arogeligar, oracle of the high gods.

Wolpetau, the highest chief, seemed to be the most lavish giver. Once he distributed tobacco among the women at the close of a public meeting held for purposes of government rather than religion. This time he did not hold up the tobacco to be snatched from his hand, but passed among them where they sat and handed it out without requiring them to stand up for it.

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Such public giving by commoners, while permitted by custom, is infrequent. It is hard to tell whether this is because few of them have tobacco or similar gifts to spare, or because less generosity is expected of them, or because they would feel it presumptuous to act in such a conspicuous and lordly way. All of those motives may be involved. One of the few who attempted it, in our experience, was Tom, always avid for glory. One of my motion pictures shows him unreeling a gauze bandage, which a young fellow eagerly gathered in. They had no thought of sanitation; presumably the lad planned to decorate his head or arms with strips of the white cloth.

On the surface these are one-way transactions. Yet my impression, which I can not substantiate rigorously, is that in the long run they too are reciprocal. The obligation involved seems to be that expressed in the adage: Noblesse oblige. If that is the case, the consideration for the gifts would be the dignity and authority accorded the chiefs. It is characteristic of the free and easy kind of exchange prevalent in Ifaluk that the natives seem to make no connection between the two. To them the high position of the chief is part of the natural order of things. Generous giving, to be sure, is chiefly behavior, part of a chief's expected role. But it seems not to be thought of as payment for the privileges of rank; rather as pure kindness on the chief's part, and pure gain to the people. It is only to a foreign observer that the two seem reciprocal.

Foreign Trade

Trade with Europe did not begin until comparatively recent times. Although Spaniards were established on Guam, only 350 miles away, from 1668, no European ship seems to have visited Ifaluk until Wilson called in 1797. Trade with Europeans was negligible throughout the following century. When the German expedition arrived in 1909, the people still had only shell adzes. During the few remaining years of the German regime a beginning was made of buying copra in exchange for foreign trade goods. This was developed by the Japanese. For years now all cutlery has been of steel, and some other foreign wares, such as cloth, dyes, and cotton fishing nets and lines, have become fairly common, though only the dyes have displaced the native product. Up to the early months of 1948, American vessels had not begun calling regularly, and the people had not been able to resume making copra, as they never knew when the arrival of a ship would enable them to sell it. The prospect was that American transportation would eventually become organized so that ships would call more regularly, and trade would again reach the level attained by the Japanese. There was no visible prospect of its developing much beyond that -- the islanders have so little to export.

Purely native trade with other islands has been going on for an indefinite period--presumably ever since the islands were first settled. With its nearest neighbor, Woleai, Ifaluk has little opportunity for trade, since the resources and products of the two atolls are nearly the same. What trading there is follows the native pattern of gift exchange. We witnessed one example. Woleai was short of breadfruit at the time, because virtually all trees had been destroyed on the largest island of the atoll. This destruction was begun by the Japanese in clearing for a landing strip, and finished by the Americans in bombing it. A canoe that set sail for Woleai during the breadfruit season took all of the fruit it could carry; in fact, several loads taken out in small canoes had to be returned for lack of storage space aboard the sailing canoe. Some of the breadfruit may have been earmarked for relatives or particular friends, but most of it was to be distributed as the Woleai chiefs saw fit. Nothing was said about payment, or any return present. Woleai, in accepting the gift, assumed an obligation and will make a return when possible. But it is hard to see what it will be, unless Ifaluk, and not Woleai, should be devastated by a typhoon. What Woleai has that Ifaluk has not is mainly fish; and native methods of preservation would not get it to Ifaluk in good condition. (The people do not make salt, and their smoking of fish, to be effective, has to be almost continuous.) One meager present of preserved fish was indeed brought in one of the canoes from Woleai. It was apparently a surplus from the supply taken on for the voyage; at least there was only enough for the chiefs. I did not get a close look at it to see whether it was preserved in any other way than the usual smoking. Tom kept us away; rather officiously, it seemed, yet his explanation was doubtless true. We would not like it, he said, "because stink."

Native tobacco is imported from several of the nearest atolls, which seem able to grow more of it than Ifaluk, though the soil can not be very hospitable on any of them. Faraulep and (this from memory) Lamotrek were mentioned as sources of tobacco.

One highly prized article--"red" turmeric root, rubbed on the body as adornment or medicine--came from the more distant high islands, either Truk, 400 miles to the east, or Yap, about the same distance to the west. The turmeric plant grows on Ifaluk, and is one of the plants most highly prized for its fragrance--the angorlk. But it is the leaves that are used. The locally grown roots are apparently too small to be worth putting through the elaborate process of grating, straining, decanting, and baking by which the orange or flame-colored powder called rang was prepared. At any rate this process is not part of the technology of Ifaluk. Tom always translated rang as either "Yap paint" or "Truk paint."

A regular article of import from Eaurupik is turtle-shell discs or beads for women's belts. Curiously, the German account of Eaurupik--written like that of Ifaluk, by Damm from field notes by Sarfert--speaks of a belt of coconut-shell beads as characteristic of Eaurupik, and traded as far as Puluwat. But my Ifaluk informants insisted that all their dark beads were of turtle-shell,

and that most of them came from Eaurupik. As usual, no mention was made of payment, or of return presents. Swamp taro (pulax), of which Ifaluk has an abundance, is one possibility; but this grows on Eaurupik too.

It has been noted in the account of native navigation that canoes from Ifaluk sometimes went as far as Truk to the eastward, or even farther. Whether these long trips accounted for most of the supply of rang from that direction, or whether most of it came by trading along the chain of low islands in between, is not clear. But certainly some of the supply from Yap was brought directly, in the course of the regular visits to the village of Gatschapar (Ifaluk Garpar) in Gagil district, whose chiefs are regarded as overlords of Ifaluk. The political aspect of these voyages will be considered in the chapter on government. As to the economic aspect, Fonachar of Yap told me that the people from outer atolls like Ifaluk would bring cloths, mat sails and other pandanus mats, sennit rope, and coconut 'candy' (what he meant by 'candy' I could not make out). Yap gave in return, he said, rang, canoes of the larger and better timber available on the high islands, mats of Yap manufacture, betel nuts (but betel chewing is not customary on Ifaluk), and foods not obtainable on the atolls, such as Tahitian chestnut. Since foreign vessels from the high islands have been making fairly frequent trips to Ifaluk, most of the turmeric has been brought on them, though the trade in it seems still to be in the hands of native sailors or passengers.

It is noteworthy that the people of Ifaluk do not make or use--and so far as I could learn, never did--any of the kinds of native currency which reached a remarkable development on Yap and Palau. To be sure, the material for the kinds most valued on Yap--huge limestone disks and dugong ivory--would have had to be imported to Ifaluk; and the stone is too bulky to transport on canoes without great difficulty, while the dugong ivory is said to be extremely scarce even on Yap. (One necklace of what may have been this material was seen on Ifaluk--about the neck of the chief WolpaitIk.) But there would be no such obstacle to the acquisition of shell currency, either by trading or by local manufacture. The absence of anything of the kind in the economic system of Ifaluk illustrates the limited and selective character of cultural borrowing by Ifaluk (and presumably by neighboring atolls of similar culture) from the more populous high islands. In this case the failure to adopt native currency may well have been influenced by the absence of selling and barter--indeed, the weakness of any concept of payment for a gift--in the local economy.

Some outstanding characteristics of economic situation on Ifaluk are summarized by Spiro: Two polar attitudes characterize the dynamic aspects of property rights—the punctiliousness with which a person refrains from using another's property, and the culturally expected generosity of use of another's property upon request. That is, when a person wants a coconut, he will never climb a tree that does not belong to him to obtain one. Though the islands are dense with coconut trees, and everyone has many more trees than he can possibly use, and though the taking of one nut would be of no economic significance, no one would dare*take a nut from a tree that is not his.

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Each man knows his own trees, though they may be scattered and mixed with trees of others, and will pick only his own. This holds true also for the taro patches. A woman will not take taro from another's patch, though there is taro enough on the atoll to feed many more mouths than there are on Ifaluk. But the proprietary rights in these patches are felt very strongly, and people are jealous of them, as is indicated by the Thematic Apperception Test and by the admonitions of the chiefs to refrain from taking another's taro.

On the other hand, one is expected to be generous with his movable property. Though the canoes are owned individually, anyone may borrow another's canoe, preferably with his knowledge, but even without it. A man wishing to make an overseas journey asks permission from an owner of a seagoing canoe to use his canoe, with full assurance that permission will be granted, a refusal being unheard of. And the same holds true for tools, traps, and other objects that a person may wish to use.

One can safely predict that as long as real property remains in the lineages, and as long as other property can be acquired by anyone with the requisite skills, property and wealth will create no psychological or social tensions. But if the native system of land tenure should be changed so as to enable some to accumulate more at the expense of others, or if the Americans should offer jobs to some of the men and not to others, and thus enable them to buy western manufactured objects--particularly objects like flashlights, that can be used only by one person at a time--tensions will inevitably arise, as they have in other colonial areas.

GOVERNMENT

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Government on Ifaluk, as described in this chapter, is limited to administration of certain rules regulating conduct. Another activity which might well be allotted to government is public works. But since the services performed are economic, and some of them involve distinctive techniques, it has been convenient to describe this activity under economics and technology, except for the matter of enforcing participation in communal undertakings, which will be discussed in this chapter. Various other activities performed in our culture by governmental agencies are either absent in Ifaluk or seem to be outside the sphere of government as here understood.

Not all rules are regarded as governmental. Following Malinowski*, the distinction drawn here is based on the sanctions by which they are enforced. Rules not taken seriously enough to be sanctioned at all, or sanctioned only in informal ways, as by the inertia of custom, the negative sanctions of gossip and ridicule, or the positive sanction of practical efficacy, are not the concern of government. And sanctions that we regard as supernatural, whether thought of as automatic, or as administered by superhuman beings, are allotted to religion.

In Ifaluk, matters of public concern, except for most of the religious ones, are administered by five chiefs, who hold office by virtue of hereditary rank. So government in Ifaluk might be defined as interaction between chiefs and populace, or between chiefs and commoners. It is unmistakably institutionalized, in any sense of the protean word "institution." If we apply Malinowski's concept of an institution, government in Ifaluk can be outlined as follows:

Group: Chiefs as the governors, populace as the governed.

Activity: Regulation of conduct in accordance with traditional rules; formulation of new rules when necessary.

Shared Environment: The atoll of Ifaluk, including its reef and lagoon, and extending to the open sea as far as it is frequented by Ifaluk canoes on short round-trip expeditions. (Interisland voyages take the canoes out of the jurisdiction of this institution.)

Material Equipment: The kind of property called "property of the chiefs," and analyzed in the chapter on economics as public property; that is, the men's house, the path along the lagoon shore of Falarik and the belt line about the taro swamp on Falalap, especially the northwestern part of it, which constitutes the main thoroughfare among the houses; the big seines kept in the canoe-houses; to a great extent the canoe-houses themselves and the large sailing

^{*} Malinowski's views on government were first formulated in "Crime and Custom in Savage Society," redefined later in the preface to Hogbin, "Law and Order in Polynesia."

canoes, though these are nominally private property, in emergency. any other property.

- Charter: (1) The legends insofar as they confer the authority of ancient standing on the principle of rank, including subordination of Ifaluk to Gatschapar in Yap, superordination of Ifaluk over surrounding atolls; most specifically, the passages which trace the paramount title, and its succession in Kovalu clan, to the prowess of Mailias as a warrior, and the second-ranking title, with its succession in SauvelarIk clan, to the feats of Maur as a leader and orator; less explicitly, the traditional association of these mighty men of old with the abandoned site of the ancient men's house just inland from the present one.
 - (2) Symbols of rank in material objects and deferential behavior. These cluster around the men's house.
 - (3) All traditional rules of conduct insofar as it is regarded as the business of the chiefs to administer them. (It is hard to draw a clear line between these rules and rules of two other kinds: on the one hand, those administered within the household or informally by public opinion; on the other hand, those administered by gods or--in the case of tabus--by impersonal supernatural power. An attempt to draw this line will be made later. The belief that the spirits of ancient chiefs avenge any violation of the tabu on the site of the ancient men's house is a case in which governmental and religious rules, as those categories are here defined, merge into one.
 - (4) The traditional, unverbalized "constitution" -- which places every individual in a hierarchy of hereditary rank, and confers authority on the holders of five chiefly titles, each of which descends nominally in a particular clan (actually, so far as observed, in the senior lineage of that clan). This constitution specifies-by precedent, as in the British constitution and the common law-the duties and prerogatives of the chiefs, some division of authority among them, and the obligations of the commoners.

Rank

The following table shows the order of rank among the chiefs, the clans in which they descend, and the names of the individuals holding these titles during our stay on the atoll in 1947-48. The official titles of the chiefs, except for those in SauvelarIk clan, are the same as the names of their clans. Apparently the names of these particular clans, as discussed on p. 128 originated as titles. I never heard titles for the two chieftainships in Sauvelar Ik clan, and the name of that clan is not, like the others, a title. Indeed, the other titles are now used only as clan names. Although it is said to be proper to address the paramount chief as "Kovalu," the third as "Mangaulevar," and the fifth as "Rapevelu, I never heard this done. There is no way to test the suggestion that this was customary at some former time, unless this custom proved to be general among surrounding islands of related culture, which would of course support the suggestion. Whatever may have been the former custom, nowadays the use of these titles in address is obsolete, so far as our observation goes.

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| Order of Rank | Clan | Title | Holder in 1947-48. |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | Kovalū | Kovalū | Wolpetau |
| 2 | SauvelarIk | ? | Maroligar |
| 3 | Mangaulevar | Mangaulevar | Paliuilimar (died 1948) |
| 4 | SauvelarIk | ? | WolpaitIk |
| 5 | Rapevelű | Rapevelū | Toromann |

In addition, Fagaurateu of Sauwel was credited with a unique status as a sort of sub-chief. Tom said this position was called by the same name (tamol) as that of the five full-fledged chiefs. Yet Fagaurateu did not meet with them, nor sit with them on public occasions. His position seems to exemplify the traditional role ascribed to Sauwel men--to act as errand-runners and sub-ordinate executives for the chiefs. This was the only trace found of this role in current practise; and even this was only nominal, so far as observed. Being old and in poor health, Fagaurateu seemed not to exercise any of the authority accredited to him.

Rank is so highly valued and respected that it stands out as one of the master-values of this culture. A hierarchy of rank runs through the whole society. In it each individual has a place; and standards of good behavior require each to show by his conduct that he "knows his place." This involves not only deference toward superiors, but a certain lordliness toward inferiors --not in informal contacts, but on occasions of state. For example, when the highest-ranking chief of Faraulep was visiting Ifaluk, and came to the canoe-house where the local chiefs met, Wolpetau remained lying on his back and paid his visitor only a negligent attention; this although he is personally an affable man, rather diffident in manner. The point was that traditionally he outranks the Faraulep chief, and was in duty bound to mark the distinction by his conduct.

It has already been shown that the chiefs are aligned in a definite order of rank; that the clans which hold chiefly titles have an order of rank corresponding to that of their chiefs; and that clans which have no chiefs rank below those which have.

Within the clans, lineages rank according to traditional seniority. Even within lineages--or, what comes to nearly the same thing, households--there is a similar order among individuals. Insofar as the division of labor segregates men and women into separate groups, this small-scale hierarchy splits into two, one of men and one of women. It is unobtrusive, and may be weakened, perhaps even reversed occasionally, by individual differences. Yet it operates

more continuously than the large-scale, comparatively formal hierarchy of chiefs and clans, because the individuals involved are interacting most of the time.

Rank, then, is a graded continuum. The sharpest line of cleavage is between chiefs and commoners; and this is in effect a part-time distinction. perceptible only on formal occasions. Ordinarily it would be hard to tell, from the behavior of a group of men, which among them were chiefs. All work and talk together like equals. The chiefs are treated courteously, to be sure, but so is everybody else; for courtesy is another of the master-values. The distinction in rank only becomes apparent in moments of formality. For instance, as already noted, communal tasks of any importance are made the occasion for communal meals -- not to use the word "feast" for anything so unpretentious. Such meals always begin with the offering of a little food to the gods, with a brief spoken prayer, like the "grace before meals" customary--or formerly customary--in our culture. When there is a chief present, as there usually is, he is the one to make this offering; or if there is more than one chief, the senior one. That bit of ritual over, he again becomes indistinguishable from the rest. Although chieftainship is hereditary, the chiefs, elevated only by such part-time distinctions, can not be said to constitute a social class, as that term is ordinarily understood. Still less can they and their kinsfolk, whether households or clans, be said to constitute a nobility. For what distinction there is is nearly all individual. The order of rank among clans is manifested only through their chiefs, except when a title is vacated by death and a successor has to be chosen, or -- in the case of the two highestranking clans -- on one rather infrequent occasion: when a turtle is appropriated by Kovalu, or a yellow-fin tuna by Sauvelarlk. In sum, for all the importance of rank in this society, the society is not stratified into classes.

The importance of courtesy, evident in all social behavior, is conspicuous in the treatment of distinctions in rank. When the occasion requires, the distinctions are made and accepted, but unostentatiously. They are not allowed to become invidious. So, while rank serves to enhance the authority of superiors, it is rather successfully prevented from humiliating inferiors, at least overtly. The emphasis--unless in malicious gossip, which would have to to be furtive to be tolerated--is on the positive importance of rank, rather than the negative importance of lack of it. Even in the case of chiefs homage is paid to the office rather than the man.

This fact is evident in the nature of the symbols of rank. They do not consist of emblems or insignia attached to the person and carried about. The reservation of turtle to Kovalū clan and yellow-fin tuna to Sauvelārīk, in addition to the practical advantage of use of these delicacies, symbolizes the superior rank of these two clans. This is the symbol that comes nearest to being invidious. Tom, a Sauvelārīk man, fretted under the restriction on turtle. The requirement that the paramount chief butcher turtle in person is an individual distinction. Except for that, the symbolism of this custom distinguishes clans rather than individuals.

Once every rag, or twice a year, men from Falarlk district make a ceremonial offering of coconut toddy to the No. 2 chief, the senior man of Sauvelarlk. We saw it once, on November 10. About mid-morning, a file of men came along the path, each carrying a bottle of fresh toddy. Maroligar awaited them on the homestead Somat, between Katelu and Bwagolei. He does not live there, but now that Bwagolei is uninhabited Somat is the highest-ranking Sauvelarlk homestead, hence the most appropriate site for this little ceremony. There was no elaborate speech-making. The men greeted the chief quietly, put down the bottles of toddy, and squatted on the coral house platform facing him. He saved out some for his relatives, and one bottle for the Americans, but redistributed the rest at once, and he and his callers drank it together.

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Far the most conspicuous and important symbol of rank on the atoll is the tract of land called Katelu, in Rauau district. There are two buildings on it, and a coral platform, now overgrown, where another building stood in ancient times. The two now standing are a canoe-house (generic name Fan ni Wa) and what speakers of English call the men's house, because unmarried men formerly slept there. The native generic name for it is Fan Nap or big house. Both canoe-house and men's house are sometimes called Katelu, the same as the whole site.

The canoe-house seems to be only slightly more respected than other canoe-houses. In its use for storage of canoes it does not differ from them at all. As a men's club-house, it is used more by the chiefs than by anyone else, but is not forbidden to commoners. It was the regular meeting-place of chiefs during our stay. Whether they would have used the men's house if our tent had not been pitched close beside it, I could not be sure.

The men's house is far more significant than the canoe-house as an emblem of rank. It is rarely occupied nowadays except when the chiefs summon all the people to gather in and around it for a public meeting. Occasionally a few men--usually chiefs, or at least with a chief among them--gather there to consult together. At least once during our stay a few people, including both men and women, met there to talk with the chief Maroligar. I think, but am not certain, that he performed for them a kind of divination reserved to him, the apparatus of which is stored in this building. Once a group of women in response to the chiefs' request or order that a pandanus mat be plaited for Spiro, met in the men's house for part of the work.

The most sacred part of all Katelu is a tract just inland from the men's house. This is said to be the site of the ancient men's house which was in use in Maur's time. It is now covered with a thick growth that includes some tall trees, evidence that it has been long unoccupied. This Katelu is strictly tabu except, nominally, to chiefs; and we never saw even a chief set foot on the central part of it, where the old building stood. All that remains of that is a few vertical slabs, some of them apparently stone corner-posts like those in the present building, while others may be backrest stones; and a terrace or platform strewn with coral gravel and outlined with coral blocks. This is like

any other house platform except for a few other lines of blocks at one side, suggesting a bit of terracing which may have constituted a formal entrance.

Maroligar, who acted as caretaker of all Katelu, did some weeding and trimming about the edges of this part of it, but we never saw him venture on the old platform. The only violation of its sanctity that we did see was by the psychotic called, for short, Tarof. He was subject to outbursts of obstreperous and sometimes violent conduct. On hearing that he had impiously trespassed on the overgrown, tabu site of the old men's house, a group of agitated men, mostly relatives who felt some responsibility for his conduct, gathered at the edge of the overgrown tract. They called to him to come out, and rebuked him for his presumption, but did not venture in after him. This was not from fear of violence on his part, for some of these same men more than once tied him hand and foot after other outbursts. It was from reverence for the sacred site, respect for the tabu, and awe of the spirits of ancient chiefs who are supposed to punish trespassers.

Violation of this tabu by Spiro and me was punished by these spirits. Our camp was on Katelu, just south of the present men's house and west, or shoreward, of the site of the old one. Our only toilet facilities, at first, were the lagoon and what the navy calls an overwater head, which could be entered only by walking along an unsquared coconut log set at rather a steep angle. The lagoon was well enough, part of the time; but since, unlike the natives, we had to change clothes to wade into it, it was often inconvenient. After one attempt to negotiate the log leading to the overwater head, which ended in an ignominious leap into the water, I gave up trying to use that; and for Spiro, if I remember rightly, a look at it was enough. The only concealment near our tent was the foliage on the overgrown part of Katelu. We took to using the edges of that, part of the time. Maroligar delicately dissuaded us by intertwining the leaves of the young coconuts about the old site, forming a flimsy barrier, which is a traditional tabu sign. The hint was not lost on us, but now and then, under pressure of time and when we thought we were unobserved, we disregarded it.

About that time came a period of rainy, gusty weather. The chiefs decided that it was visited on Ifaluk by the spirits of the old chiefs to show their indignation at the violation of their sanctuary. So they had the overwater head moved to a new position, beside a stone pier that projects into the lagoon; and built a short, level approach, so that there was no longer any difficulty about using it. Then they had Tom explain the whole situation to us, and ask us to use the new facility. This seems worth telling, not as a funny anecdote, still less as a confession of what now seems stupidity on our part; but rather as an illustration, first, of how the sentiment of rank may work out in conduct, and second, of the diplomacy shown by the chiefs in persuading foreigners to respect their rules.

Two other sites share, but in much lesser degree, some of the sanctity attributed to Katelu. One is the homestead Uelepi, traditional residence of the senior lineage of Kovalu clan, whose members succeed to the highest chiefly

title. This site is said to be tabu to all but relatives. Except for men of other clans who live there by virtue of marriage to women of this line, we did not hear of outsiders trespassing on 9t (except the psychotic Tarof on one of his rampages). A similar site, no longer occupied and of less importance but still respected, as far as we know, was Bwagolei, just inland from Katelu. This is the traditional homestead of the senior lineage of Sauvelarlk clan, holder of the second chiefly title. Tom took me there by virtue of his membership in that lineage, and did his best to make it out as practically equivalent to Uelepi.

Commoners are required to acknowledge their subordination to chiefly authority by stooping as they pass in front of the men's house. The main path along the lagoon shore of Falārīk island passes immediately in front of the men's house; but this part of it is not often used. Unless they have business there, commoners detour to shoreward. This roundabout way is noticeably more worn by passing feet than the direct one. Even at this distance, they bend low as they pass, usually with hands clasped behind their backs, like a miner stooping as he walks through a low gallery. This deferential gesture, though rather carefully observed most of the time, is sometimes forgotten or ignored. Children who hold their heads high in passing Katelū may be rebuked by their elders. One adult who failed to stoop, and was seen by the chief Wolpaitīk from the nearby canoe-house, was sharply reprimanded. Some architectural and decorative features of the men's house, which also act as symbols of rank, will be described in the study of native art.

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Several points in this elaboration of rank--particularly the awe of ancestral chiefs shown in the respect for the old site at Katelu, and the formalities about turtle--suggest the Polynesian complex of chieftainship. There, chiefs commonly traced their ancestry to gods--indeed, the most influential gods, or some of them, seem to have been deified chiefly ancestors. And living chiefs were thought to embody some of this divinity. As for turtle, in more than one part of Polynesia it was offered to the paramount chief explicitly in his divine capacity.

It seems highly probable that the chieftainship complex of Polynesia and that exemplified by Ifaluk are historically related. But it is clear that in Ifaluk, though native religion still flourishes, the respect shown to chiefs does not include attribution of divinity to them. The oracles of the gods are typically not chiefs. Chiefs do not trace their descent from the gods--infact, divine genealogies are patrilineal, human ones matrilineal, and both very brief. Except in association with Katelu, ghosts of chiefs seem no more important than any other ghosts. In sum, religion on Ifaluk does not support government in this particular way. As to what process brought about this difference with Polynesia--whether chieftainship in Ifaluk has fallen from a former high estate, or chieftainship in Polynesia has been elevated by local development --that could only be determined, if at all, by careful comparative study.

Succession

Succession to chieftainship is determined by primogeniture in the female line. Asked for a more exact statement of the rule of succession, the chiefs conferred and issued, through Tom, a series of choices, given below with the comment that seems necessary to explain them.

(1) When a chief dies, the first choice for a successor is a "brother." Tom said "brother" as the only term in English to translate bwisil. Actually, as shown in the discussion of kinship terms, this one (given there as bwisi, with 1st person possessive suffix instead of that for 3rd person) applies not only to siblings of the same sex, but also to more distant relatives in the female line—to all recognized relatives of the same lineage, sex, and genealogical generation. So this statement includes a range of choices. First would be a true brother; and among brothers, the oldest surviving one. Next would be mother's sisters' sons, with priority to the eldest son of the eldest sister; and so on, as far as kinship is recognized. As a rule, as has been noted, it is recognized only within the lineage. And as the lineage groups (living members of a lineage) are small, the usual extension of kinship terms does not take in a very wide range of relationships.

(2) If no "brother" is available, next choice will be a "sister's son" (vatuwei). This term is also applied to more than sons of sisters. The sons of women whom we would call parallel cousins or orthocousins of the deceased chief, on his mother's side, would also be eligible; for the chief would speak of any of them as "my sister" (moengai); and the term for "son" would be used in a similarly extended sense by all of these "sisters." So, in effect, any man of the chief's lineage, but one generation younger as generations are reckoned genealogically, would be eligible as a vatuwei. In practise, the term is not commonly extended beyond true sisters' sons and the sons of mother's sisters' daughters.

(3) If no "sister's son" is available, the choice will pass to a son, (lau). This statement was a surprise, as a man's sons, or the nephews to whom the same term would be applied, are not of his lineage or even of his clan. When asked about this, Tom said that a son was a possible successor because he was of the same "house" as the chief. The word for "house" in this connection, he continued, would be im, the ordinary word for dwelling. He knew of no instance in which a chief had been succeeded by a lau. So this statement may have little or no practical significance.

(4) If none of the preceding choices is possible, the chief will be succeeded by "some other relative." Again it is questionable whether in practise succession would be, or ever need be, extended to such rather remote relatives.

Because the people of Ifaluk do not cherish genealogies, and can not trace relationships farther than their memory of living persons, the only specific cases of succession obtainable were those involving the chiefs in office during our stay. Each knew his own relationship to his immediate

predecessor. Some of these statements were confirmed, from memory, by others. In the case of the two highest-ranking chiefs they could cite names of earlier chiefs in order of succession; but did not know the relationships involved.

Wolpetau, No. 1 chief, was a "brother," in the extended sense, of his predecessor Mul. Their mothers were true sisters.

Maroligar, No. 2 chief, was a sister's son of his predecessor, Bwongalimoi.

Paliuilimar, No. 3 chief, was a sister's son of his predecessor.

WolpaitIk, No. 4 chief, was a true brother of his predecessor; "same father, same mother."

Toromann, No. 5 chief, was a brother of his predecessor.

Succession in three of these cases followed the choice named first in the list announced by the chiefs. In the other two cases it followed the choice named as second. There is little doubt that these two choices provide a successor to a deceased chief in most instances.

Two limitations on succession were exemplified when the third-ranking title was vacated, shortly before we left Ifaluk, by the death of the chief Paliuilimar. Though the matter may not have been entirely settled when we left, we were told that no successor to the title would be named for the time being, as no suitable person was available. If all members of Paliuilimar's clan, Mangaulevar, had been considered eligible, a suitable successor would have been available. But Tom explained that within the clan, some were "more high," others "more down," and that only the "more high" could succeed to the chieftainship. Apparently this meant that succession is confined to the lineage. This is a typical example of the fact that the people do not clearly conceptualize lineages, even when in actual practise they observe distinctions among lineages. Typically, then, succession is limited to the senior lineage, except in Sauvelārlk clan, which has two titles, so that members of two lineages in that clan may become chiefs.

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The other limitation followed by not naming a successor to Paliuilimar was one of sex. There was a woman of suitable age in Paliuilimar's lineage. And it is said that women may become chiefs. No specific instance was found, and--unless there was a change after we left--this woman was not considered suitable. Whether female chiefs are entirely a thing of the past, or whether the elevation of a woman to chieftainship is still possible in exceptional cases, only time can tell.

One other qualification, a matter of personal character, was mentioned in general discussions of chieftainship. The quality emphasized is courtesy, already mentioned as one of the master-values. Kindly speech from a chief is so highly valued that it is believed to confer long life on his people, while evil speech from a chief may mean death to them. So if a man otherwise eligible for chieftainship has a reputation for "bad talk," he may be passed over, and the title conferred on one of his juniors who keeps a civil tongue in his head. In accordance with the general principle that the chiefs interpret

the rules, the actual decision in such a case would be left to the chiefs in council. No actual instance was cited.

It is not practicable to leave the title of highest-ranking chief vacant, because final authority in matters of general importance belongs to this position. So when the senior line of descent in Kovalū clan fails, the senior chief of Sauvelārīk clan, who ordinarily ranks No. 2, may take the No. 1 position. This had actually happened within the memory of our informants. Oraitiu, a Kovalū chief, was lost at sea during the typhoon of 1907, when he was returning from a visit to Lamotrek. In default of a suitable successor in the Kovalū line, he was succeeded as No. 1 chief by Daoreligar of Sauvelārīk clan. Daoreligar was paramount chief in 1909, when Sarfert visited Ifaluk. His successor, too, was a Sauvelārīk man, Bwongalimoi (he whose name appeared in Japanese characters on the Ongarīk). On the death of Bwongalimoi, though, the title reverted to Kovalū in the person of Mulelimar, commonly known as Mul. He was the immediate predecessor of Wolpetau, paramount chief during our stay.

Division of Authority

Matters of concern to the whole atoll are decided by the five chiefs in council. Matters of concern only to one locality are allotted to one or two chiefs, each of whom has some local jurisdiction. Three accounts of this local division of authority agree both as to the general pattern and some of the details, but differ in other details. One version was given by Wolpetau, the paramount chief and presumably best authority; but this was early during our stay on the island, and Tom was not present to interpret, so I may have misunderstood some points. The second was given by Maroligar and one other chief (my notes fail to specify which one, and I can not trust to memory) with Tom interpreting. The third is made up of answers given by Tom at different times, to a variety of specific questions.

All agree that Wolpetau, ranking No. 1, and WolpaitIk, ranking No. 4, have charge of Falālap. Wolpetau said that he had charge of Ievang, WolpaitIk of Iauru. This division was not mentioned by the others, but at least was not denied, so can be taken as correct. Absence of mention of this point by Maroligar or Tom apparently reflects a gap in my questioning. It may also reflect the fact, already brought out, that the division of Falālap into two districts is not very important. The only time we saw this local authority exercised—when a dog bit Spiro, in Ievang—the two chiefs acted together.

Authority over Rauau district is divided, and accounts differ as to which chiefs are in charge. Wolpetau said that the rulers of Rauau were Wolpetau, Maroligar, and Toromann. Maroligar gave the list as Maroligar, Paliuilimar, and Toromann. The difference may be one between theory and practise. Whatever Wolpetau's nominal authority, he did not trouble to exercise it, so far as I could observe. Neither did Paliuilimar. Not only were these two the most aged of the chiefs, but neither lived in Rauau. Wolpetau lived in distant Iauru, Paliuilimar in FalārIk. Both came frequently to Katēlu in

Rauau district, to attend chiefs' meetings; but usually left for home as soon as the meetings were over. If they took part in the local affairs of Rauau--which were of a routine sort, while we were there--it must have been only as consultants. The active chiefs in Rauau were the two who lived there, and whose names appear on both lists: Maroligar and Toromann. As between the two, Toromann's role was distinctly subordinate. He was not lacking in ability or initiative. But one of the points that attest his intelligence is his clear understanding of the limits of his authority, as lowest-ranking of the chiefs. He knew his place, and never overstepped its boundaries.

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Asked which chief had charge of Falarik district, Wolpetau only laughed quietly; disparagingly, it seemed to me; as if to imply that FalarIk was beneath the notice of a chief. Maroligar's answer was not incompatible. He named Fagaurateu of Sauwel clan as ruler of Falarik district. Fagaurateu was not a chief, but held the unique position of sub-chief. These two answers presumably express the official position. Tom, at a later time, said that Paliuilimar was in charge of Falarlk. This may have been true in practise, for Paliuilimar lived in FalarIk, and was the only chief who did; so presumably he would be consulted about any local problem. A still later entry in my notes, based on another comment of Tom, says "It seems that Maroligar has authority over FalārIk, too." The situation seems to be that Fagaurateu was nominally in charge; but he, besides being inferior in rank to the chiefs, was old, sick, and perhaps senile. Under the circumstances, any chief--but particularly Paliuilimar, who lived in FalarIk district, and Maroligar, highest-ranking and most active resident of FalarIk island-might well intervene whenever it seemed advisable.

Local division of authority among the chiefs seems, on the whole, rather elastic. Yet one statement by WolpaitIk suggests that individual chiefs are held responsible by the other chiefs, for the condition of the districts they control. The statement was in answer to one of a schedule of questions to bring out psychological characteristics. The particular question was aimed at sources of worry or anxiety. WolpaitIk said that one thing he worried about was that the other chiefs might criticise him for the condition of his district. (WolpaitIk was the junior, in age and length of service, of all the chiefs, as well as being next to the bottom in rank; so he might well have been more sensitive on this point than a more experienced man.)

Maroligar took charge of the bonito drives in the lagoon, in which the whole population took part. My question about the meaning of this, in terms of division of authority, led to a discussion which is all I have in the way of evidence on the formation of policy. So it will be discussed in the following section.

Formulation of Rules

Concrete evidence as to the initiation of rules of conduct is scanty to very near the vanishing point. The rules are traditional, and their origin is lost in the past. On that point, I can not improve on Tom's answer to all such questions: "blong before."

The one possible glimpse of how rules are modified was the answer to my question about Maroligar's authority over the bonito drives. Tom, always the most convenient source of information, was asked first. He said that Sauvelarlk clan has charge of the reef and the lagoon. While ordinarily members of other clans are allowed to fish there, they do so only on sufferance, said he. Supervision of the bonito drive by Maroligar, senior Sauvelarlk chief, was one manifestation of this general prerogative.

Asked if other clans had similar rights, Tom said he did not know, and suggested referring the question to the chiefs. That was obviously the thing to do anyway; for while his statement sounded plausible, it was suspect because of his continual attempts to lay claim to glory, whether by way of his membership in Sauvelarlk clan or by any other means that occurred to him.

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At the moment only two chiefs were available: Maroligar and Toromann. The question was referred to them. They talked it over and decided to submit it to all the chiefs. Their reason, Tom explained, was "Some other chief might say 'This chief 'e lie.'" Plainly this claim of one clan to special authority was a touchy matter.

Next day all five chiefs discussed the question long and seriously. This fact strengthens my suspicion that Tom's statement had some foundation. Otherwise, presumably, they would have dismissed it at once. But their answer gave no suggestion of this. They instructed Tom to tell me that the reef and lagoon belong to all five chiefs together, not to any one clan. Ordinarily it is permissible for anyone to use them. But if the chiefs decide to restrict their use, fishing can be carried on only by their permission. It is the same with the land, they said (disregarding an important difference, that arable land is divided into patches, owned by separate lineages). Ordinarily people may eat the fruits of the land as they please. But in time of shortage--for example, after a hurricane--the chiefs may say 'Only eat a little.' In other words, the chiefs asserted their authority to ration food.

If this answer, as I suspect but can not prove, involved abrogation of a traditional allotment of authority to one clan, it would constitute legislation by the chiefs. Whether this is indeed an instance or not, the obvious way, and the only apparent way in which rules can be modified or new rules initiated under this form of government, is by decree of the chiefs after such discussions. When a situation arises which is not covered by the rules, or not covered satisfactorily, the chiefs will have to decide it according to their best judgment. Their decision will constitute a precedent, to stand until some new problem requires further modification.

While the chiefs have final decision, there is nothing to prevent any individual from requesting or suggesting a new ruling, or even setting up by some unconventional act a situation which may require one. Again I have one possible example, but no trustworthy evidence as to how novel this situation may have been, beyond the fact that it was unique in our brief experience. As in a good deal of the available evidence about the process of government, our presence was indirectly involved. We were a considerable irritant to the body politic.

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Tom was assigned by the chiefs to devote his full time to working for us as interpreter. The activities to which he would have ordinarily devoted this time--helping to feed his household, working on his new canoe--were to be taken over by others. On October 15, Tom went on strike. He announced that he would not work for us that day or the next, but would work on his canoe. His reason was not any objection to us or our treatment of him, but the fact that nobody had been working on his canoe for days. If he had to spend all his time with us, he said, his canoe never would be finished.

Conceivably this was the first strike on Ifaluk, although, as already said, there is no evidence as to this. What is certain is that it was the only example in our experience of open defiance of the orders of the chiefs. Tom went so far as to criticize the chiefs for not issuing orders to men to work on the canoe--or not issuing them often enough to keep the men on the job. He showed not only a short temper, as compared with the mildness usual on Ifaluk, but also considerable courage.

The response of the chiefs was not to issue a command or decree. Nor did they punish Tom for his temerity. Following the general rule of courtesy, they were quite conciliatory. They reasoned with Tom, and persuaded him to reduce his abstention from work for us to one day. The two junior chiefs, WolpaitIk and Toromann, themselves helped him work on the canoe that day, and several younger men appeared. The work seemed to go somewhat better from then on. In other words, Tom won his strike. But it cost him a good deal of emotional stress. About noon on his day of strike Spiro found him much disgruntled. Not only had the chiefs disapproved of his conduct, however gently; his wife had scolded him, apparently more emphatically, for deserting us. "Too much talk," Tom said.

The chiefs' mild policy worked well. The strike was limited to one day, and--what was of great importance on Ifaluk--there were no hard feelings. By implication, the chiefs had promulgated a rule of conduct, whether or not it was a new one. They had acknowledged the "right to strike."

Verbalization of Rules

Other evidence on rules of conduct is verbal. Yet much of it is in a native setting, hence probably more representative of native behavior than replies to questions from a foreigner would be. It consists of the harangues delivered by the chiefs to the people at three public meetings held in the men's house.

At these meetings the chiefs not only make announcements and issue specific orders, but lecture the people about their conduct in general. These speeches or sermons are a traditional way of "laying down the law."

There were three of these meetings during our stay. One object of the first, held on August 14, was to issue as formal chiefly commands the suggestions of the American physician about hygiene, made during the visit of the ship that had brought us to Ifaluk two weeks earlier. But the immediate occasion of the meeting was a chance remark of Spiro's that there were Americans on other islands, doing the same kind of work that we were doing on Ifaluk.

Unexpectedly, this stirred up considerable excitement. The whole expedition, or set of expeditions, seemed to be taken as a kind of competitive examination, in which the visiting Americans would give the various islands a comparative rating in conduct, particularly in cleanliness. In other words, it touched off the lively sentiment of rank--in this case, comparative rank among islands. The people of Ifaluk were eager to get a high rating--to gain in rank, if possible, at the expense of their neighbors, in the eyes of the Americans, whom they acknowledged as their superiors; or at least, not to sink lower. The occasion of the second meeting, held on September 4, was similar; to carry out the suggestions of the American governor and physician, made when the ship called on September 2. The occasion of the third meeting was, at least in part, my request to the chiefs for a performance of the men's religious dance (ur), which otherwise would not have been seen during our stay.

There was a certain amount of formality about the proceedings. Although informal announcements of them spread by word of mouth a day or two before, the formal call was issued (for two of the three we saw) by the lowest-ranking chief, Toromann. He took a conch-shell trumpet, went out on one of the stone piers projecting into the lagoon from Katelu, and blew repeated long blasts. The meetings were held at the highest-ranking site on the atoll, Katelu. The people assembled in and about the men's house or big house (Fan Nap), highest ranking building on the site. When they were gathered, the chiefs took their seats beside the highest-ranking part of the building, the Ongarlk or front ridge-post, decorated with symbols of rank. After a dignified silence, the chiefs spoke. First to speak was always Toromann, the lowest in rank, as if "introducing the main speaker." In part the contents of his speech were the same as those of the others, but always he enjoined the people to heed well the words of their chiefs. The second speaker, at least in the first and last meetings (this point not noted for the second one), was Wolpetau, paramount chief. Other chiefs spoke, as the spirit moved them, in no fixed order. This was partly a matter of individual gifts and inclinations. Old Paliuilimar, who had a reputation as an orator, always spoke, and was the most vehement and dramatic; indeed, at the close of some of his speeches he looked alarmingly exhausted. Wolpetau always spoke, ex officio; but seemed not to revel in it as Toromann and Paliuilimar did. Ordinarily he was

a man of rather few words. Maroligar spoke only once, and then briefly, in a low voice. WolpaitIk never spoke at all. Not only was he the youngest in years and length of service, but he was fat, had a very high voice, and was a bit of a clown and butt of ridicule, though the jokes were always goodnatured. Commoners never spoke, except for brief interjections of assent and applause, like "amen-shouting." In this the most frequent expression was Rongrong! (Hear, hear!).

At the end, the chiefs distributed tobacco among the people. Jokes, which might come at any moment in their speeches, were frequent in their last words; as if to heal any wounds inflicted by what scolding was involved in the earlier ones. This interpretation accords with repeated statements, some of them in song texts, that an extremely high value is set on kindly words from the chiefs. With "good talk" from their chiefs, the people will

thrive and live to a ripe old age; with "bad talk," they will die.

I managed to get a translation of only one of these jokes, made by Wolpetau as he walked among the women, passing out tobacco with a bit of jolly swagger, which, I judge, may have come hard to this quiet, dignified man. He and the others had been preaching about hygiene, especially about using the lagoon or the American-plan "overwater heads" for defecation. Wolpetau said: "If any woman wants to defecate on shore, let her make a basket, and defecate in that, and then carry it into the sea." This was greeted with uproarious laughter.

For a more specific picture of one of these meetings, here is the account

of the last one, from my field journal.

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'Oct. 23. Third public meeting today. The people had notice of it yesterday. In the morning Toromann blew the conch from the stone pier. He made two trips, seemed like an hour apart. The people were slow to come.

"Toromann began with what sounded, in Tom's translation, like the usual formal beginning. Come all ye. Listen to what the chiefs have to say. 'Work good, no work bad. No steal something from 'nother man.' He spoke in five bursts, with meditative pauses between. Burst three was apparently a joke,

but I didn't get it translated in time.

"As usual, WolpaitIk didn't talk. Maroligar, toward the end, did, but in a low conversational tone and at no considerable length. In a pause between Toromann's early efforts, Maroligar suggested something to Paliuilimar, seemed like urging him to speak; but P. said nothing at that time. Toromann's last burst was to the effect that when women were working in the taro swamp, they should not take taro that did not belong to them.

"Wolpetau was the second speaker. He talked about menstruating women. Said when the blood first appeared, they should go into their seclusion house and stay there, not go to the taro swamp. When the flow was finished, and

not before then, was the time to go back to work.

"Between bursts, he worked industriously at rope-making.

"Wolpetau's second burst was to the effect that when the chiefs tell men to go out fishing, they are to go. Then, if there is a good catch, the chiefs will see to it that fish are distributed to all the people.

"Third burst: if any man doesn't want to go out with the others when the chiefs order a fishing expedition, let him speak up now.*

"Then Toromann filled in, beginning with a hear, hear the words of the chief. He pointed out that if men didn't go fishing, and women didn't work in the taro swamp, there would be nothing to eat. Ifaluk is too small. (Meaning, apparently, too small to support loafers.) He called on Paliuilimar to speak, but the old man did not respond until the second urging. Then he finally got going, in a low voice at first, but warming up. He told the people to heed what their chiefs said—the regular formula. Said some men didn't seem to like to work when the chiefs told them to. Very bad business that. He also told them to do whatever Mel Spiro and I told them to (but of course we're not giving orders, except to Talimeira and Uveli** of a morning.) He told them to clean up, against the coming of the ship.

"Finally, when everything seemed about over, Wolpetau said that by and by there would be dancing. This was the promised response to my suggestion that I'd like to see some of the ur I have been getting the words to. I could not make out whether he set a definite time, but they'll come through.

"Paliuilimar and Toromann wound up with short speeches. I had asked Tom to tell the chiefs that the important place to clean was around the houses, and to avoid stagnant water because of mosquitoes, rather than to do a wholesale weeding job in the interior, as they did after the last call of the ship. Pointed out that the doctor was the man interested in how clean they were. Paliuilimar said something to that effect in his final speech, but by the time it got back to me in Tom's translation it was somewhat diluted."

The element of formality makes of these meetings a ritual, not unlike the type of church service in our culture that emphasizes the sermon. In this case the meaning is not religious. Like the kava ceremonies of western Polynesia, parts of Fiji, and some eastern Micronesian islands, these meetings serve to manifest and emphasize the sentiments of rank and law and order, as exemplified by obedience to the chiefs.

To show which rules of conduct are particularly emphasized, recurrent commandments in the speeches at the three meetings are listed below, beginning with those that seemed most frequent. The list is minimal, because Tom was not so well trained for running translations as the interpreters who perform the same service at meetings of the United Nations; so his accounts were sketchy. It was only at the last meeting that I could understand any considerable part of what was going on; and even that was only midway in our stay on the island, so the language was still only dawning on me. The commandments recorded were these:

^{*} Apparently a challenge to some malingerer. Mainly rhetorical; as might be expected, nobody spoke up.

^{**} Talimeira was assigned by the chiefs to work for us; Uveli volunteered for the same service.

Heed the words of the chiefs
Clean away rubbish
Work hard, so that there will be plenty of food
Do not steal (with emphasis on food)
Share with the poor and sick (emphasis on food)
Build "overwater heads" or latrines

Another commandment, not recorded at these meetings, but heard several times--one of them, in a hypothetical chief's address to the people dictated by Tom as a text--was "Do not speak evil of people of another clan." During one of the meetings, Paliuilimar spoke especially to people of his clan, Mangaulevar, and Maroligar followed with a brief talk which contained repeated mention of his clan, Sauvelarlk. I did not manage to get a translation of this passage.

The repeated insistence on respect and obedience to the chiefs illustrates one of the main purposes of these meetings. The repeated emphasis on food suggests that one of the main sentiments clusters about food; at least, that abundance of food is a master value. The repeated strictures against idling and stealing suggest that these may be particularly common forms of misbehavior, though the only specific instance noted was the tongue-lashing about shirking communal fishing, which seemed to be directed at one or more specific malingerers.

Conspicuous by their absence from these harangues are rules about sexual relations and violence. To be sure, the one mention of the traditional behavior required of menstruating women is in the general area of sexuality. But nothing was said about clan exogamy or adultery. Clan exogamy is certainly taken seriously. We have seen that there were no violations of it in 1947-48. Perhaps it is so generally observed there is no need to talk about it.

Adultery is quite another matter. According to common report it was, at least, not uncommon. The fact that the chiefs did not condemn it in their speeches may indicate that this is a rule which the government does not try to enforce.

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As to violence, that seems to be, like violation of clan exogamy, so rare that it does not have to be condemned verbally. Certainly the courteous, peaceable behavior of these people is one of their most striking characteristics.

The frequent exhortations against theft in the chiefs' speeches at public meetings suggest that this crime may not be uncommon. There is no question that public opinion strongly condemns it. Tom repeatedly expressed abhorrence of a thief (melmorok). But he as often assured us that the people of Ifaluk would not steal anything of ours; that we need have no hesitation about leaving our property unguarded. Judging by the chiefs' exhortations, the kind of property most often stolen is food. At least once, taro was specifically mentioned. In the taro patches the vegetation is so dense, and the place so little frequented, that a worker could often take taro from someone else's patch without being seen. All we can say, in the absence of specific cases, is that theft, whether rare or not, is at least rarely detected.

Sanctions

On the evidence at hand, the government seems to confine itself to a rather narrow jurisdiction in enforcing rules of conduct. Malicious talk, idling or malingering, theft, and failure to observe the restrictions imposed on menstruating women were the kinds of misconduct rebuked by the chiefs at the public meetings. From other sources, to be discussed shortly, violence and some kinds of sexual misconduct can be added to the list. Other rules—and in some instances, even those just mentioned—seem to be enforced only by public opinion, as expressed particularly in gossip; or by concerted action within a small group of relatives—a household or two or three closely related households; or by fear of supernatural punishment.

Positive sanctions for observance of these rules consist mainly of continued trust, friendliness, and co-operation. Promotion to higher status, another way to reward approved conduct, has little scope in Ifaluk, where status is so largely a matter of descent and primogeniture. Yet informal promotion to higher standing in general esteem is constantly operative; and, though the absence of any marked tendency to compete with others or excel them in good works makes the operation of public approval inconspicuous, the general smoothness of human relationships suggests that the desire for approval may be a powerful motive.

Negative sanctions to punish breach of the rules follow a general pattern of retribution in kind, with increasing severity for repeated offences. Sarfert obtained a list of punishments for specific offenses, like a criminal code. Being based only on verbal testimony—and presumably on only one questioning—it is probably over—simplified. Yet it accords with the general pattern that emerges from my longer, more passive observation. First offenses of a minor kind, such as "bad talk" or malingering, are punished by reprimand and warning from the chiefs (the paramount chief, Sarfert says; probably so in most cases). Repeated offenses of these kinds will be punished by confiscation of property (Sarfert specifies a canoe).

Theft calls for restitution to the aggrieved party of goods approximately equivalent to those stolen--rather like damages for a tort in our law. The thief is also publicly reprimanded; and repeated thefts will bring down heavier confiscation, more like what we call a fine. (Ifaluk, however, makes no such distinction as we do between civil and criminal law).

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Assault may be punished by anything from a reprimand, in the case of a first and mild offense, to confiscation of all property (Sarfert specifies plots of land, canoes, and clothes) in the case of murder. According to Sarfert's list, a murderer is also bound, brought to the men's house, and severely reprimanded in the presence of the whole populace, but then released. Sarfert also specifies payment for lesser injuries:

For loss of an eye, arm, or leg--a canoe and two cloths.

For loss of both eyes, arms, or legs--two canoes, and all of the cloths owned by the culprit.

For loss of a finger--one cloth.

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For loss of two or three fingers -- two cloths.

For loss of four fingers -- two or three cloths.

For loss of a hand--three or four cloths.

Not having a copy of Damm's monograph on Ifaluk, I did not check this list with native informants. I see no reason to question its authenticity. But the people, as we saw them, are so mild and civil in their dealings with each other that all talk of severe deliberate injuries seemed remote and hypothetical. Not only did I hear no accounts of murder or grievous assault, but find no mention of anything more severe than a few blows with a stick in more than 230 song texts that seem to cover the whole range of experience that moves them enough to be commemorated in song.

Destruction of property is mentioned in one song as a penalty for adultery. The poetess--who was the "other woman"--sang"

If his wife finds out, Her people will attack us. If I steal her husband, They will wreck our house.

Tom--with confirmation from the chiefs, who were all present when the song was dictated by one of them--said that this is a traditional penalty for adultery. Relatives of the aggrieved spouse destroy crops on the land of the home-breaker, cutting down banana trees and coconuts. (I did not make sure whether this referred only to bunches of nuts, or to the coconut trees.) They also destroy any portable property and objects in the house, but not the house itself. This procedure is said to have the approval of the chiefs. But there had been no actual instance of it for a long time.

The penalty for incest--defined as sexual relations with fellow-clansmen or parent--is death or banishment. This was Tom's reply to a question from Spiro. The fact that the penalty is by far the severest we heard of, shows how seriously clan exogamy is regarded. But I never heard of an actual case of incest, and no couples were "living in sin" in this sense while we were on Ifaluk. So as far as we know this rule is only a threat, though perhaps an effective one.

One other hint of law enforcement in sexual relations occurs in a mother's lament for a daughter who died young. The burden of the whole song is "Don't gossip about her now." There is mention of "a man from the district" coming to spy upon the girl and her lover, because she was considered too young for love. Asked whether this was customary, Tom said it was. But no such patrolmen were on duty during our stay. Presumably one would be assigned by the chiefs in case of complaint or scandal.

Specific observations on misconduct and its punishment are almost entirely lacking. The only misdemeanors that became public knowledge during our stay on the atoll were committed by four dogs and one madman. None of these cases represents normal relationships among human beings. Such as it is, though, this evidence is of such a valuable kind that it seems advisable to examine it in detail.

The four dogs bit human beings. The penalty for that is death. In three of the cases it was promptly imposed.

Treatment of dogs in general is capricious. They are sometimes fondled, sometimes ignored, sometimes teased in ways that seemed to us cruel. This teasing may furnish one outlet for the aggression which, under the general rule of courtesy, can hardly be discharged overtly against human beings.

In the first case it seemed to us that the dog had ample provocation to bite. Tom, too--whose views may have been affected by exposure to other customs in his travels--grumbled when dog-bites began to assume the proportions of a crime wave. He held that people (boys, I think he said) ought to be made to leave the dogs alone. Otherwise there would soon be no dogs left. A dog is like a man, Tom went on. If it is mistreated, it wants to fight.

The first instance can perhaps be best described by another quotation from the journal:

August 30. The small boys of this neighborhood killed a dog this morning. He was the biggest dog on the island. He used to chase all other male dogs away. The last few days there had been much copulation between him and a bitch. A very noisy business, with yelping and a kind of bawling that he also uses when attacking another male. The yelping comes from the bitch, perhaps only in the painful process of disengaging. With the cruelty toward dogs which we have noticed among the boys, there had been some stone throwing and other teasing along with all this.

This morning our boys told us this dog had bitten a man, so that it drew blood. (Probably the man had asked for it.) The dog came around and hung about us all through breakfast, in hopes; as he often does at mealtime. He was gentle and friendly, as always with us; unlike his mate of the last few days, who is apt to bark at us whenever we go far from our tent.

The boys seem to have passed a death sentence on the dog. Talimeira said to it, in some of his newly acquired English, "Bimeby you die." Mel told the dog to stick around with us, and he seemed to get the idea; he did it for a while. He knew the boys were after him. They all had sticks and stones. He took refuge between two canoes in the canoe-house, but there they could hit him with sticks. He ran away, with them in noisy pursuit, and we heard howls and yelps.

Next thing we saw was the dog swimming out in the lagoon. Uveli went out in a canoe and herded the dog away from shore. I could see his head, far out... More canoes went out later, and apparently kept him from coming ashore.

Toward noon the boys came by. When we asked what had happened to the dog, they said he drowned in the lagoon.

The nominal owner of this dog had gone to Faraulep. Perhaps that was why the boys took the law in their own hands. They seemed to have a lot of fun. Nobody objected, except ourselves; and we did not try to insist, because our business there was to observe custom, not reform it.

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The next time, a dog bit a small boy, I do not know on what provocation. Its owner and other men of the household took it into the woods, killed it, and, we were told, ate it.

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The third time, a bitch with pups, that I had previously noticed as extremely irritable, attacked and bit Spiro. This time there was no more provocation than his unusual appearance, as compared with the natives, when he passed near where the animal lived.

Mayhem committed against the foreigner who was the guest of the chiefs, and in some sense a representative of the high authority of the United States, made this nothing less than an international incident. So this time the chiefs took a hand. Wolpetau and WolpaitIk, the chiefs in charge of Falalap, where the offense was committed, went in person and saw to it that the dog was put to death. Everybody, particularly the chiefs, the people of Falalap, and the Americans, were agitated about this for some time; the chiefs and people of Falalap because it seemed to threaten the good feeling that prevailed between them and the Americans; the Americans because, if the wound had become infected, with no medical aid available and no way to summon it, the danger would have been serious. (Luckily, the wound healed cleanly.) Some time later, when I passed a house platform on Falalap, a woman called to me reassuringly "No dogs!" Again, when a dog barked at me there, a man in the canoe-house nearby roused from his revery to call it off.

The fourth offense was committed against Maroligar by the dog of his colleague Toromann. He was playing with it and fondling it when it bit his hand. They were in sight of me, and this time I saw no teasing or cruelty. Maroligar, one of the gentlest and most courteous of this courteous people, insisted that the matter be overlooked.

The lone human culprit was "Tarof," the only troublesome one of several psychopaths on the island. As already shown in the account of his violation of the tabu site on Katelu, he could not stand authority. Most of the time he seemed more dangerous to himself than to anybody else, as he made several ineffectual attempts to commit suicide. Once he struck a young man, who was himself something of a "mental case" and who, Spiro thought, had probably provoked the attack by teasing. Again, he was reported to have thrown a stone at his mother-in-law. He was moved from Falalap. Rauau at the request of his wife, who had been living in terror of him. In Rauau, too, he frightened the women of the household and neighborhood. At last he was moved into a house that stood off by itself.

Twice, after his escapades, he was tied hand and foot. The decision to do this was reached, so far as I could make out, by his male relatives. One of these was Maroligar, senior chief of Rauau district, where all this went on. Tarof, the patient, particularly resented Maroligar's chiefly estate. The one time that I saw him tied up, it was Maroligar who first took hold of him and laid him on the ground for tying. But this was the only evidence I saw of Maroligar assuming more responsibility than anybody else. He did not take charge and give orders, as he did in the bonito fishing or (less conspicuously)

in such Rauau public works as the repair of a canoe-house. He seemed to be acting, not in his capacity as a chief, but simply as one of the relatives. The whole affair was handled as a family matter, rather than a governmental one.

Two or three times, much to the shame of his relatives and the chiefs, Tarof took little articles from our tent; once a calendar hung from a post, once a bush-knife, once an intrenching tool; never food. The calendar was brought back from the house where Tarof by that time was living alone. The knife he brought back himself. He had used it only to cut a piece of wood for some harmless purpose. The intrenching tool he returned, with a lavish gift of angorIk (turmeric). He had used it only to dig this offering for us.

That is the sum of the overt misconduct we observed on Ifaluk, except for a few accidental glimpses of furtive love-making. On the whole our observations leave the impression that the people of Ifaluk are so law-abiding as to leave the chiefs very little to do in the way of law enforcement. The chiefs occupy themselves more with prevention -- in haranguing the people about how they ought to behave -- than with punishment. Most of their decisions and orders are concerned with public works: communal fishing expeditions, repair of canoe-houses, making of seines, and so on. The shortage of evidence as to misconduct and punishment, however disappointing to ethnographers in search of specific data, is a striking tribute to the success of the native government in maintaining law and order. For the most part, public opinion seems to keep behavior within the approved channels so well that negative sanctions do not have to be invoked. An apparent exception is adultery. In that respect, the government of Ifaluk seems to be in the same position as our own local governments, which do not attempt to supervise the sexual behavior of the citizens except in the comparatively rare cases when formal complaints are brought in, or scandal becomes so flagrant that it can not be overlooked.

An attempt to compare the government of Ifaluk and that of the United States is interesting, though the data do not permit doing it with scientific rigor. In form the government of Ifaluk is strictly aristocratic. In practise it is quite democratic, in the sense that every individual gets a chance to express his opinion and can make sure that it will be heard and considered by those in power. Perhaps any form of government would be democratic, in practise, with so small a population, unless there were rigid class distinctions.

The government of the United States, in form, is strictly democratic. In practise, as all citizens seem to agree, it falls far short of that ideal. Again, size and complexity are obviously a main factor.

If democracy in practise is the goal to aim at, there seems to be no reason to change the traditional form of local government. All the more, in view of the remarkable degree to which the people observe their laws. There is, on the contrary, a strong reason against attempting such a change. Any form of government foreign to their traditions would be confusing and disturbing. If would lead to difficulties that would probably extend into matters

remote from government, so that some of them could hardly be foreseen. Pretty surely, for a long time at least, it would not work as well as the established system.

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It is already plain that government in Ifaluk, during our stay there, was dominated by two factors: one, their own tradition; the other, the new influence of the United States. The latter was exercised through occasional visits of the Naval Government ship, and-mildly, involuntarily, yet steadily--by the two American anthropologists.

FOREIGN PELATIONS

From time immemorial the people of Ifaluk have acknowledged the rule of some outside power. Their traditions name as the earliest of these foreign overlords two lines of chiefs in Gagil district on Yap.

The only story attributing important influence on Ifaluk to an island farther east is that about the lore of seamanship (p. 89). The point of origin named in this myth* is Bwennap, said to be in sight from Puluwat. A version of this story is given in the German monograph on Woleai (Kramer, p. 285). The locality there is Polap, evidently what our charts call Pulap, which, judging by the charts, would indeed be barely in sight from Puluwat. And a footnote adds that on Lamotrek, Polap is called Bon'nap. This seems to locate the traditional origin of the lore of seamanship. Locating a mythical island may not be worth all that trouble, but ascription of the lore of seamanship to an island farther east does seem significant.

Names of two varieties of bananas ascribe to them an eastern origin; wIrls Truk, Truk banana, and wIrls Valupe. Valupe is said to be Ponape. The prized red paint made from turmeric root is said to have reached Ifaluk in the old days by trade with either Yap or Truk. Tom used to translate the native name for it, rang, either as 'Yap paint' or 'Truk paint.' Texts of several love songs specifically mention Truk as the source of this paint or of other finery: a loin-cloth, a comb. Other islands to the east are also mentioned in songs; among them Namoin (Nomoi).

From all accounts, native and foreign, the language spoken on Ifaluk and neighboring atolls resembles that of islands to the east, at least as far as Truk, more than it resembles the language of Yap. If this is substantiated by adequate linguistic comparison, it will indicate relationship between Ifaluk and islands to the east much more fundamental than the bits of diffusion suggested by the details just given.

What this eastern influence amounts to--its relative strength and age as compared with influence from Yap--could only be determined by a thorough cultural comparison beyond the scope of this local monograph.

The name 'Yfaluc' appears in a list of names of islands collected by the Spanish Jesuit priest Paul Clain from 1678 to 1696; but the Spanish, though they were settled on Guam in the 17th century, and had some claim to all this part of the Pacific, never visited Ifaluk, so far as available evidence shows. During the 19th century they sent missionaries to most of the islands round about, but for some reason omitted this one. The people of Ifaluk know about these batre (padre), and how they opposed the native religion. In 1947

^{*} The story about the lore of seamanship is called a myth rather than a legend because of its supernatural character and its function of explaining the origin of an institution.

some visitors from Woleai rather pointedly stayed away from a native religious ceremony held on Ifaluk during their stay. This was understood as the effect of a missionary's work on Woleai long ago, and caused no comment.

Traces of Spanish or missionary influence on Ifaluk are few. Perhaps the most important is the system of writing known to some of the natives. It came to Ifaluk from Woleai, where it was taught by a missionary. Maroligar knew enough of it to keep a note-book in which he had written some song texts. The letters were obviously derived from our alphabet. I did not attempt to learn or analyze this writing. It seemed to be adequate for recording the text of a song, but was known only to a few, and very little used even by them.

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Spiro came upon one bit of Christian tradition when questioning Arogeligar who might be called a native priest, about sickness and healing. Arogeligar gave a fairly full version of the story of Adam and Eve, applied to ancestors of the Ifaluk people--whether on Ifaluk or not, he was not certain. He said he learned the story from his grandmother, which makes a Spanish source more likely than any other.

Islands more or less closely resembling Ifaluk in name and position appear on several charts of the early 18th century. These charts were drawn partly on the basis of names and sailing directions obtained from native informants. The first European vessel to sight the island appears to have been the missionary ship "Duff," Captain James Wilson, which reached there on the 27th of October, 1797. The "Duff" did some trading with the natives, but Wilson's account of the voyage has nothing further to say about them.

Some whalers and perhaps other foreign ships called at Ifaluk between the visit of Wilson and the next one on record, that of Captain Frédérick Lutké. He called at the "Wilson Islands" on April 3, 1828, and noted the native name, "Ifalouc."

Lutké noted that the natives differed from all other Caroline Islanders he had seen in their 'boisterous spirit' (humeur criarde). Two of them went overboard with loose pieces of ironware. Others tried to detach pieces that were fastened. Lutké recovered the stolen pieces by notifying the chief, who was aboard, that he would not be allowed to leave the ship until the iron was returned. Von Kittlitz, who called about a generation later, was told by whalers that the natives of this island demanded exhorbitant prices for their wares. At least one other visit is recorded during the 19th century, that of the English trader Cheyne, and presumably there were several that never got into print. My informants recalled that an American named Keefe used to put in at Ifaluk before the German times. He was in partnership, they said, with another American named Louis or Luis, who kept a trading post on Lamotrek. A daughter of his, supposed to be enormously rich, was said to be still living on Woleai. Keefe is pretty surely D. D. O'Keefe, celebrated for importing stone money to Yap from the Palaus. (He claimed American citizenship.)

For short periods during the latter part of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th, foreign traders lived on Ifaluk. Damm mentions a white trader whom the natives called "Sau." He was there while Olaitiu was paramount chief, but left before the typhoon of 1907, when Olaitiu was lost at sea. During the typhoon, Damm reports, there were three Japanese on the island; but they left immediately after. However, these traders can not have had very much to sell. The best proof is that when the German expedition visited the island in 1909, all the adzes in use were of shell, though some of the drills had iron points.

A decided change came after the Germans, who took over the whole area at the turn of the century, brought in more transportation. They developed a fairly regular trade in copra. They also took natives as laborers on copra plantations as far away as Samoa, and as phosphate diggers, not only on nearby Fais but, if my information is correct, on Angaur.

German methods of labor recruiting are described in the following excerpts from a native song:

They come to the men's house Where the people are assembled, And seize men to take them away.

They came in the afternoon And hunted men by night. Nobody could sleep for fear of them.

In front of the men's house
The Germans line up the Caroline men.
They are pleased to see so many-They have captured ten,
Strong men all.

"Come along! Get into the raft!"
They feel the arms of the captives,
And chuckle with glee
To find them so strong.
The first mate takes them aboard.

German influence, though decidedly stronger than any that had preceded it, still left few traces by 1947. Tom used to say "deutsch" for German, and had a memory of Germans as men with very white skins and knotty muscles. Perhaps the greatest change was in wider knowledge of the outside world, and in replacing the "boisterous spirit" of Lutké's day by a more submissive one.

Damm's mention of three Japanese on Ifaluk in 1907 has already been noted. My informants told a somewhat different story. They remembered only one Japanese, a little old man married to a woman from Woleai. Tom told me, after consulting others, that this Japanese lived on Ifaluk for 10 years; but since they do not keep track of years, this means only that he was

there for a considerable time. During the typhoon of 1907, he had to swim for his life, but with native help, succeeded in getting to higher ground. He worked for the Germans--presumably the Jaluit Company, which is said to have maintained a station on Ifaluk.

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The Japanese took over the islands in 1914. After World War I, when the area was mandated to them by the League of Nations, they resumed the copra trade. They had a trading store in Rauau district, but kept it closed except when their ship was in port. The most conspicuous effect of their regime on native life is in cooking. The native earth oven is now used only for cooking the meat of fairly large animals: pig, turtle, and such large fish as bonito and tuna. As these are not part of everyday diet it may be said that the earth oven is used only for festive occasions. Ordinarily household cooking is done mostly in Japanese iron pots or mess-kits, many of them fitted with tight covers for cooking rice.

A few other Japanese articles are in fairly general use: small fish nets of cotton cord, fish-hooks, tools, cloth, and dyes for cloth of native weave. A little shrine in the men's house has a Shinto look, though used for divination of a native sort.

The Japanese gave the people some medical service when their ships were in port, and put some boys from Ifaluk to school in Yap. Talimeira, a decidedly intelligent boy assigned by the chiefs to work for us, had spent several years at this Japanese school. He seemed able to speak and read Japanese fairly well, as far as we could judge. Certainly he picked up English amazingly fast while we were there. As to his attitude toward the Japanese, he was non-committal. Probably he got along well with them, as he would with anybody. But he had had enough of school. Asked whether he would like to go to an American school and learn to be a doctor, he smilingly but firmly declined. He wanted to spend the rest of his life in Ifaluk, though he had no prospect of a chiefly title or other preferment. Thinking the matter over, we wondered whether this might not be one more proof of his superior intelligence.

Tom and other older men told us several stories of the domineering behavior of the Japanese. Though celebrated for courtesy among themselves, they evidently had none of it to spare for their Micronesian wards. This was particularly disagreeable to the people of Ifaluk, because of the high value they place on courtesy or, as Tom called it, "fine talk." These stories were no doubt intended partly to flatter us. It might be supposed that, since the Japanese were recent enemies of our country, we would be pleased to hear an unfavorable account of them. Yet we saw no reason to suspect the natives of lying.

"You sit right down on the mats beside us to talk with us," they said.
"The Japanese used to pile one box on top of another. Then one of them would get up on the highest box and talk to us. Very bad talk."

More specific was their account of the Japanese method of recruiting labor, which had advantages over the German method from the point of view

of the recruiters, but not from that of the islanders. According to this account, when the Japanese wanted men--which they did mostly for phosphate mining on Angaur--they would come ashore, seize the chiefs, and then make known the number of laborers they wanted. If these were not quickly forthcoming, they would beat the chiefs.

The first American contact during World War II was unfortunate. Japanese had a landing strip on Woleai, 30 miles away. During the period when the Americans, without attempting to land in the Carolines, were neutralizing Japanese bases there and leaving their garrisons to "wither on the vine," while Americans by-passed on both sides, Woleai was bombed often enough to keep the air-strip out of use most of the time. Americans flew now and then over Ifaluk; and one of them sprayed the atoll--or at least Rauau district -- with a machine-gun. I believe the native account of this because they said they could hear the bullets cutting through the leaves, a detail they would not be likely to invent. No damage was done. The chief WolpaitIk was in the lagoon, tending a fish-trap. The natives now make a funny story of his frantic scramble ashore. Yet they were sufficiently afraid of American planes so that when the first of several passed over at night during our stay, and flashed a spot-light on Falalap, they were rather panicky, and we were suspected of getting information to be used for their destruction, and of communicating with the plane with a flash-light. (I had gone out on a stone pier to watch it pass, and called to Spiro, who was in the lighted tent; but I had no flash'-light.) We assured them that American planes, the only ones in the area, would do them no harm; and after they found that the first one had passed over peaceably, they were little disturbed by the others.

This machine-gunning may have been a mistake, for the aerial photograph of Ifaluk used to illustrate this report was labelled "Woleai." Or it may have have been intended to intimidate any Japanese or supporters of theirs who happened to be on Ifaluk. Or, finally, it may have been a case of trigger-happiness. In any case, the terror it inspired seems not to be insuperable.

The last stanza or section of the long religious invocation said to have been sung by the god TIIItr, when he took possession of the body of his native oracle Arogeligar, predicts an American victory over Japan. Both Arogeligar himself, who was the mouthpiece of the god, and Tom--ordinarily inclined to make light of Arogeligar's pretensions--assured me that this prophecy was uttered long before American planes reached that part of the Pacific. I wondered if the name of the victors might have been changed in the process, and even asked about it; but of course it was consistently denied. This part of the song, as worked up from Tom's translation, follows:

The war will soon be over.

The end of the fighting is near.

Soon the Americans will come.

All you women and children who offered me flowers,

Fear no more!

A passage so similar as to seem referable to the same revelation appears in a prayer or invocation to cure illness of the head, which was given by Arogeligar to Spiro. Arogeligar said it was given to him by the god TIIItr, who in turn got it from his grandfather, omniscient Aluelap. Tom's translation, as edited by Spiro, appears on pages 221-222.

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Two other, less important mentions of America occur in the texts of love-songs. In one, the infatuated woman sings, "I am caught fast, as with an American fish-hook." I asked Tom about the age of this song. He said it was written long ago, but that the people knew of the excellence of American fish-hooks even then. Since the trader Keefe called himself American, this may be true.

The other mention was in a song written about the chief Maroligar, during his youth, by the woman who is now his wife. The lines were:

Fe la gili ameriki Naro pia fili me jem(u.

Tom translated it: "You are like an American flag in my heart." This time, particularly, I suspected that Maroligar might have changed "Japanese" to "American" in dictating the song; in baseball talk, might have pitched Tom a fast one, too hot for him to handle. For Tom, in translating, seemed a bit confused; and in his first muttering, said something about "Spanish man," which was his way of saying "Japanese." (He had the two peoples distinct in his mind, but confused the English words for them.) I attempted to corner him with questions; but, even if my suspicions were right, he and Maroligar were on their guard now. However that may be, I could not shake their story. Because of the importance of kindly talk, I did not think it worth while to press the matter. After all, even if the name was changed, that very fact shows that they are anxious to please.

The substitution of an American flag for a Japanese flag at the top of the OngarIk, or front post of the men's house, was suggested to Tom, to report to the chiefs--on September 4. It was not until November 23 that Maroligar began chipping off the Japanese flag. Still, I never knew the natives to hurry unless there was desperate reason to, as when a thatched roof caught fire, or a school of bonito was sighted in the lagoon. And this time there was no particular need to hurry.

Once, early in the course of our stay, WolpaitIk said to the other chiefs "We'd better do whatever these Americans want us to. Otherwise--no more chiefs." WolpaitIk, it seemed to me, covered a very sensitive nature with a bluff front. He was given to bluff statements, which might be taken seriously or jokingly. Undoubtedly there is some fear in their attitude toward Americans. What they have heard of the bombardments of Woleai and Yap-some of their young men were in Yap at the time, and they probably had eyewitnesses on Woleai, too--gave them a great impression of American power. But they usually spoke of it--to us, at least--with admiration rather than fear. Even in talking of the machine-gunning on Ifaluk, they tended to make a joke of it.

But our best evidence of their attitude toward Americans is their treatment of us. Their kindliness, helpfulness and solicitude have been evident throughout this report. And we are convinced that fear had very little to do with it. While they could be intimidated, there seems to be no need of that. Kindly treatment is both easier and more profitable, for they repay it in full.

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Ifaluk religion cannot be considered apart from the culture of which it is an integral part without doing violence to both the religion and the culture. The fact that our society is unique in consigning religion to a separate category, one among a number of aspects of culture, has been pointed out by numerous authors, and has become commonplace in our thinking. Yet it is necessary to stress this point in a discussion of Ifaluk religion because the inter-relationship between religion and the entire culture is so inextricable that the people have no term for religion. Religion is not something apart, a special realm of being to be distinguished from mundane, everyday existence. On the contrary, religion is part of the entire culturally constituted world of the people, in which such dichotomies as natural-supernatural or material-spiritual, which are such integral features of western thinking, play no role.

It is only by virtue of anthropological tradition, facility of presentation, and for purposes of analysis that the matters discussed in this chapter are presented in a separate category. To the people there is but one behavioral world and not, as we have it, a practical world, a scientific world, an everyday world, a religious world. With this caveat in mind, we may proceed to our discussion.

Theology: The term alus is the generic term that is employed in Ifaluk to designate all supernatural beings. The Ifaluk belief system classifies all alus in at least two ways--functionally and genetically. Functionally, alus are conceived as helping man or as harming him. The helpful, benevolent alus are termed alusemar, whereas the harmful, malevolent alus are termed alusengau Genetically, some alus are viewed as coming into being when a person dies, and his soul (ngas) travels to the sky, where it becomes an alus. These ghosts are termed alusisalup, or the alus of the earth. The other alus, known as alusiang*, the alus of the sky, came into being at the dawn of time, and comprise the pantheon of Ifaluk high gods. We shall begin our discussion with a characterization of these high gods. **

High gods (alusiang): As is the case in many cultures, the concept of a creatio ex nihilo is absent in Ifaluk. There is no Creator, the world having always existed. Nor are the people particularly concerned with the problem of first causes. When asked how the world came into being they replied that they did not know; it was always there. But though the world extends back to an infinite past, the gods are not infinite and there is some information concerning their origin. This information, however, is almost completely restricted to the chiefs, the people as a whole remaining relatively ignorant of theological matters.

^{*} Burrows recorded this term as alus (e) nang. Ang (i) means wind, lang (i) or nang (i), sky.

^{**} Appendix III gives a list of deities collected by Burrows, with notes on their attributes. It partly supplements, in some details contradicts, this more general treatment.

At some time in the distant past--how far back is not known, since the Ifaluk have no system of time notation--there appeared a primordial mothergoddess, Legobwub. Her appearance, however, is unexplained. Legobwub had three children, whose creation is unaccounted for; that is, it is not known whether she fashioned them out of some material, or whether she conceived and gave birth to them. In any event, it is clear that she did not have a male consort, and however she created her children, she did so without male assistance. Having performed this function, she plays no further role either in the mythology, theology, or functional religion of Ifaluk.

Legobwub's three children were her son, Aluelap, whom she ordained as ruler of the sky; Saulal, another son, ordained as ruler of the nether world; and Autran, a daughter, who was later to create the people of the Caroline Islands.

Genealogy of the Great Gods

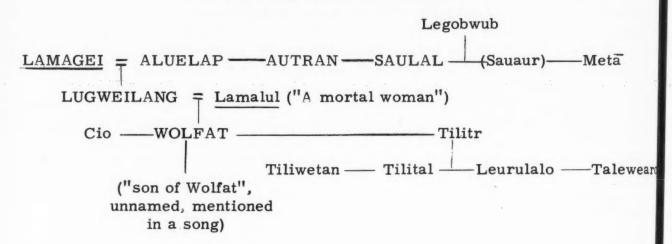


Fig. 23. The name in parentheses was not recorded in 1947-1948, but only by the German expedition of 1909. Capitalized names were recorded by both German and American anthropologists. Names without parentheses or capitalization were recorded only by the American ethnographers in 1947-1948. Names of female beings are underlined.

Arogeligar, the priest-doctor, with whom I discussed these problems at great length, gave me an entirely different version. Here we have a problem, in what Herskovits has called, the question of "ethnographic truth", in a most extreme form. For what we have here is not one informant differing from another, thus indicating variability, but we have the only two sources

in the entire culture—the political and the religious, both of whom profess to competence in these matters, differing fundamentally. Tom realized this difficulty, too, and solved it by saying that the chiefs' account was the authentic, whilst the other was spurious. In any event the ignorance of the people, the disagreement between chiefs and priest, and the lack of assurance with which the chiefs approached these matters—all indicate the unimportance of these matters and the people's lack of concern with them.

Arogeligar's creation story is as follows: At one time there was neither land, nor water, nor sky. The sky was made by four brothers--Aluelap, Saulan, Autran (Autran is a woman in the chiefs' account) and Meta (absent in the chiefs' account). Arogeligar did not know how these brothers came into being. After making the sky, Aluelap made the land and the oceans, first creating the high islands, (including "Europe", by which the people understand a vague "island", including Japan, Germany, Spain, America, and other countries they may have heard of) and then the low islands. After creating the islands, he then created people to inhabit them. The brothers then decided that Aluelap would remain in the sky, Saulan would reside under the oceans, Autran would inhabit the atmosphere, and Meta would be in the speech of people, for Meta is the Ifaluk term for "what".

Aluelap is the chief of the sky, or <u>lang</u>, which he inhabits with his family and other sky gods (<u>alusiang</u>). His family consists of Meta, his wife, Lugweilang, his son, and Wolfat and Gio, his grandsons. The name of their dwelling is Fatuma, which is at the zenith of the sky. This again according to the chiefs version. It will be recalled that Arogeligar related Meta to Aluelap as his brother. But both the chiefs and Arogeligar agree that Meta has no function other than to be on the tongues of the people, asking meta (what) when they wish to know something.

The chiefs also differ from Arogeligar and Sarfert as to whether Aluelap's eyes are open. The latter two agree that they are closed, for he is in a perpetual sleep. If someone must speak to him, Lugweilang opens his eyes with a pole as large as a coconut tree. The chiefs disagree with this version, as we shall see, saying that Aluelap had been blind at one time, but that he later gained his eyesight and now his eyes are open.

These alusiang are conceived in anthropomorphic terms, though there are few myths describing them or their activities. There is a cycle of myths concerned with the activities of Wolfat, who is the Trickster, but they are too long to be included here. The two exceptions to this generalization are the myth which explains how Aluelap, who was originally blind, gained his sight,

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It seems that Aluelap's eyes were always closed. Every day Lamalu, the wife of Lugweilang, would come to him to massage his arms and to wash him. But he did not know who she was, as he could not open his eyes. One day when she came to massage and wash him, he asked, "who are you?" "Lamalu." "I can't see you, alas!" Aluelap was determined to see. He called Lugweilang to him. "I want you to open my eyes, so that I can see your wife, and my land, and my people."

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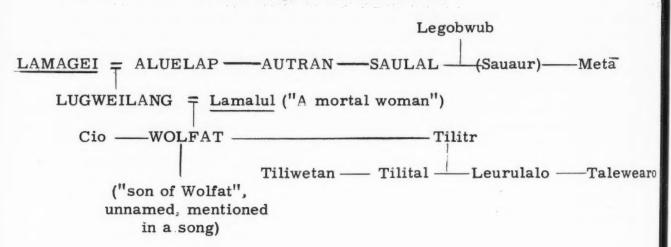


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Lugweilang told the wishes of his father to the people. They all cut a coconut tree, and opened his eyes by raising his eyelids with the tree. But still he could not see, for there were many foreign objects in his eyes. One man took a paddle and knocked them out. Aluelap was overjoyed, "Oh, I see my land, I see my people!"

Shortly after this Aluelap ordered all his people to assemble. When they had all arrived he said, "I desire a name for my son," for his son had not as yet been named. And so they all suggested names. One big star, Visutrax, said, "Let him be named Faeces." Aluelap said, "What? My son be named Faeces?" Other names were suggested by the <u>fla</u> fish, and by the crab, but Aluelap did not find any acceptable. Finally the star, Mailap, suggested the name, Lugweilang. "What does that mean?" asked Aluelap. "It means, he who lives in the zenith," said Mailap. Aluelap was pleased. "Yes, that will be the name of my son."

As a punishment for the name he suggested, Aluelap ordained that Visutrax not have a fixed place, but that he travel. Six months he lives in the east and six months in the west. During the trade wind season, when he shines in the west, the people have light at night when they go to defecate in the lagoon.

In a vague and nebulous sense, Aluelap and his family may be designated as the protector deities of Ifaluk. They "look out for people", providing them with food, and protecting them from harm.

Lugweilang makes a daily tour of the islands and reports to Aluelap on the activities of the people. Should the people as a whole misbehave, Aluelap orders Saulan to punish them with a typhoon or a tidal wave.

This land in the sky, which is a duplicate of the terrestrial land in that it is composed of oceans, islands, trees, and so forth, is inhabited by other alus, as well. The patron deities of the carpenters and the navigators live here, though they are not termed alusiang. Also living in this part of the sky is the Ifaluk patron deity, Tilitr, whose role we shall discuss further on.

These high gods--Aluelap and his family--are not clearly defined, conceptually, because they are relatively unimportant, functionally. If the chiefs and Arogeligar are vague about these supernaturals, the rest of the people are almost entirely ignorant of them. Inevitably I would be told by people--men, women, adults, children--that though they had heard the names of Aluelap or Lugweilang, for example, they did not know what they did, where they lived, or exactly who they were, other than that they were alus.

This vagueness applies with even greater force to Saulan and Autran. Saulan lives in <u>Ilal</u>, the nether-world under the oceans, in a house termed <u>Falisat</u>. <u>Ilal</u> is inhabited by mortals, like those inhabiting the earth. Unlike the earth, however, <u>Ilal</u> is all ocean. Not only is there no land in <u>Ilal</u>, but there is no sun, moon, nor stars, so that the people live in darkness in their water-proof houses.

Saulan is thought, vaguely, to control the fish supply. He is especially angry at those men who go fishing immediately following sexual intercourse, for they "stink", and he punishes them with illness.

Saulan and Aluelap, according to the chiefs, cause death, the consent of both being necessary. If one of the two wishes a person to die, he informs the other. If the latter agrees, the person dies; if not, he continues to live.

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Here again native authorities disagree. The malevolent ghosts, as we shall soon see, are universally accepted as the agents of death, rather than Saulan and Aluelap. Furthermore, within this theory, Arogeligar, who is the specialist in matters of death, has a variant interpretation. Aluelap decides when a person is to die. He informs Saulan of his intention and Saulan informs Meta, who then removes the person's soul, thus causing his death.

Autran, the daughter of Legobwub, created man; that is, the Caroline people. The people have not as yet explained the creation of the other peoples whom they have met since contact. Her method of creation is unknown though she is referred to as the mother of the people. The chiefs say that only the chiefs of Garepar, in Yap, and the chiefs of Mogmog, in Ulithi, know the details of the creation. The Ifaluk chiefs do know, however, that Autran first created the people of Yap, after which she created the Ulithians and then the Ifaluk, which explains why Yap is the first ranking island in the Western Carolines. After creating man Autran retired to the atmosphere, where she still lives, though her house, Lamoru, has remained in Garepar. The tribute that is offered to Yap by the Ifaluk is brought to Lamoru, and is intended for her, though it is given to the chiefs.

Arogeligar told a different Creation myth, which is not a different version, but an entirely different story. This myth was told him by his maternal grandmother. The significance of the myth, for acculturation, will be obvious.

After creating the land, Aluelap descended to the earth--exactly where, Arogeligar does not know--and from one of his own ribs, created one man and one woman. After some time had elapsed, they had children, and soon the various islands were populated. These early people ate no food, wore no clothes, nor did any kind of work. However, "by'n by, Aluelap say, 'What's the matter, I give that my rib, I no give chow? By'm by no more people' (that is, they will die of starvation). He give them chow; they chow. No have lavalava, they am very ashamed. Aluelap give them chow, they savvy everything--how to make lavalava, chow, work, everything. Aluelap tell that snake: 'You go on tree, you call man and woman, they come to chow. I make people, they no savvy work, shame, chow. More better you call that people, they eat that fruit, they savvy.' They eat two piece that fruit; they see that they have no clothes; they see that penis, and that vagina. They am very ashamed, they run between tree."

This is obviously the Genesis myth. It probably was learned from a missionary on Yap, another island from which it was diffused through various channels, coming finally to Arogeligar's grandmother. Arogeligar presented it as a native story which, in his mind, was preliminary to a native myth he proceeded to tell. But the latter turned out to be a variant of a myth I later collected from the chiefs which, in their version, was not a creation myth at all. This myth is as follows:

Though Aluelap had already created mortals, and they had populated the world, Ifaluk was as yet uninhabited. Aluelap told two of the female inhabitants of the sky, Legubrielnialel and Ligesges, to descend to Ifaluk. former was very wise and was distinguished by the possession of only a head and neck, but no body. Also "she savvy everything", while the latter was stupid ("she fool fellow"). Aluelap had given to Legubrielnialel the power to have anything she wished for; thus, she had only to wish for a house, or cooked food, and it was hers. One day she wished for two men, and they appeared. The men and the two women copulated and populated the island. The people had no need for industries of any kind since their wants were provided for by Legubrielnialel. One day, however, the women had a quarrel, and Legubrielnialel, in her anger, departed from Ifaluk and traveled to "Europe" where she settled. Thus, "Europe" benefited by her wisdom and soon became as wise as she, whereas Ifaluk was left with the stupid Lisgesges, and remained in ignorance, knowing neither taro, breadfruit, or fish, nor canoe or rope construction, nor fire. They did have clothes, however, and they ate coconuts.

Another account, attributing the first settlement to colonization from Yap, has been given under "Population" (p. 7ff.).

Man was originally created by Autran as immortal, and only later did he become mortal, as is explained in the following myth. (This is the chiefs' version of the myth told above by Arogeligar.) After Autran had created the Caroline people, two female inhabitants of the sky, Legubrielnialel and Ligesges, were assigned to guard the path taken by the souls of the dead as they ascended to the sky. When the soul arrived, Legubrielnialel would say: "he dies, he dies, he dies like the moon." (Imaima imalia lualang.) That is, man does not really die, but merely waxes and wanes like the phases of the moon. Upon hearing this, the soul would return to the earth, and mankind remained immortal. But at the same time that Legubrielnialel was declaring man's immortality, Ligesges would address the soul with these words: "He dies, he really dies." (Imaima manigesges.) Eventually, the souls of the dead believed her words and did not attempt to return to the earth, and thus death became permanent.

After Arogeligar had told me his version of the creation story, I asked him the cause of the quarrel of Legubrielnialel and Ligesges and he told me the above story of the chiefs, except that in his version the rival concepts of death were the cause of a quarrel these two women had had while living on Ifaluk, and did not have the profound consequences for mankind that the chiefs version has.

Arogeligar explains mortality much more prosaically. Aluelap had created man immortal. But after a time, an inhabitant of the sky pointed out to him: "Very bad that. People no die. By'm by no enough chow, for too many people. More better people die." Aluelap saw the wisdom of this insight and created death. Thus Malthus theory of the disproportionate rate of increase of food and population was discovered independently by a "stoneage savage".

Autran is not only the creator goddess, she is the culture-hero as well. After creating man she taught him the use of fire, the preparation of food, and the construction of canoes, fish nets and houses. She also instituted the incest taboos, taught the people a sense of sexual shame and gave them clothes, and instituted the various clans. Construction work was first taught to her by Aluelap, after which she taught this skill to the people.

The chiefs pointed out that the institution of the clans was a great boon. For if Autran had not created the various clans (Kailang), "all people belong to one Kailang, then no one copulate." This is very interesting reasoning and provides an excellent example of how deeply rooted are cultural institutions. The concept of the clan is so deeply rooted that the chiefs cannot conceive of society without clans. Thus, if there were no clans, it would necessarily follow, in their minds, that there would be one clan; and since every person would belong to the same clan, there could be no intercourse,

given the taboo on clan endogamy.

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Ghosts of the dead (alusisalup): The ghosts of the dead, functionally viewed, are the most important alus in the Ifaluk belief system. Unlike the high gods, who are all benevolent, the ancestral ghosts are both benevolent and malevolent. Every person becomes an alus at death. If a person is evil during his life on earth, he becomes an evil or malevolent alus at death; that is, his immortal character is but a continuation of his mortal character. If a person is good or benevolent on earth, he becomes a good or benevolent alus at death, his immortal character being a persistence in time of his mortal character. Now it should be clearly understood that the western concept of supernatural reward and punishment is completely absent from Ifaluk thought. An alusengau, a malevolent alus, is not such because he is punished for his immoral behavior on earth; nor is the moral person rewarded at death by becoming an alusemar. Both good and evil persons ascend at death to the sky, their characters persisting in the sky as they were on earth. When a man dies, his soul (ngas) ascends to the sky on a special path. At the end of the path there stands a guard, who directs the souls to their respective habitations. This guard has a name, but none of the chiefs could remember it, and inquiry about the village produced only negative results.

The souls of good persons are directed to Langalian, the abode of the alusisalup, which is at the zenith, near Fatuma, the home of the alusiang. The alusisalup also have an abode in the nether-world of Saulan, called Gelangas, but this need not detain us, since no one, not even the chiefs, knows anything about this abode except the name. The souls of bad persons are directed to Pungulon or Langalgesepelach, the names given by the chiefs and

by Arogeligar, respectively.

Though it is the soul that ascends to the sky, and the body is buried in the ocean, the <u>alus</u>, as ghosts, are corporeal, though it is not at all clear whether they resume their earthly bodies, or acquire different ones. But it is known that they are corporeal because people have seen the <u>alusengau</u> on their visits to Ifaluk and those people possessed by the <u>alusemar</u> have perceived them in human form.

Both kinds of alus, the good and the bad alike, lead lives in the sky that parallel their lives on earth, with but two differences. Biological families do not remain together (even assuming that all the members of the family become one or the other of the two kinds of alus), but each member of the family repairs to the special abode of his clan, each clan having its own habitation. Spouses are not rejoined at death, but marry other persons. Otherwise, these alus live much the same kind of lives they had led on earth.

Food, as we shall see, is a focal value in Ifaluk, so that it was of interest to know if it was of equal importance in the lives of the alus. The chiefs confessed that they did not know of the eating habits of the alus. Arogeligar, on the other hand, said that the alusisalup have two kinds of food-flowers and wot, both of which they obtain in the sky. The people on earth wear flower leis (marmar) because they know that the alus are fond of them, and will smell their fragrant odor, should they descend. The alus, like the people, are fond of the odor of flowers and abhor "any stink." Wot is true taro, much rarer than "swamp taro" on Ifaluk, and is prized very highly. Its value is recognized by the alus, as well, since it is eaten by them. When a person on earth is ill, wot is prepared for him at the behest of the alus (that is, at the behest of Arogeligar), because of its presumed medicinal value.

Both the benevolent and malevolent <u>alus</u> live identical lives in the sky, the one difference between them being that the <u>alusengau</u> have "very bad stomach," that is, they are evil. <u>Langalian</u>, the abode of the <u>alusemar</u>, is constantly beautiful. On the other hand, <u>Pungulon</u>, the abode of the <u>alusengau</u>, fluctuates between extreme beauty and extreme ugliness, but when it is beautiful, it is even more beautiful than <u>Langalian</u>.

The alusengau, according to all informants, are much more numerous than the benevolent alus. Now since the alusengau are wicked, it follows that had there been no evil people there would be no alusengau. And since there are more alusengau than there are alusemar, there must be more evil people than good, a point to which we shall have occasion to return. It is also universally agreed that the incidence of female alusengau is much higher than that of male, and that they are not only more numerous, but are the more vicious, as well.

Not all the alusengau, however, inhabit the sky. Some evil souls are directed to live in the ocean, about the reef, and these are known as alusetat, or the alus of the ocean. The alusetat, it is agreed, are more evil than those who inhabit the sky. According to Freudian symbolism the ocean, or water in general, is a female symbol, particularly a mother symbol. It is interesting to observe, therefore, that the female alus and the ocean alus are universally accepted as the most evil.

There is a second category of <u>alusengau</u>, whose conceptualization is a point of disagreement between the chiefs and Arogeligar. Both agree that these are not the malevolent souls of the dead, and that they had originated

independently, but their creation is unknown. Arogeligar calls them alusefalu, literally, the <u>alus</u> of the ground or of the earth, who may take the form of pigs, dogs, or sparks. The chiefs, on the other hand, termed them alusliol, and say that they inhabit the trees in the bush. Alusefalu, they claim, is the name of the chief of these <u>alusliol</u>. They also claim that should a person disobey the chiefs, or evade participation in communal work by remaining in the bush, these alus will cause him to become ill.

Aside from this minor disagreement, everyone agrees that all these alusengau have one primary aim—to cause illness. The alusengau are intrinsically evil, and delight in doing bad, in causing illness. They cause illness indiscriminately, so that both the good and the evil suffer from their malevolence. These alus have a chief who constantly incites his malevolent cohorts to make the people ill, for "he only like bad"; not that the others need his incitations, since they are all vicious, evil creatures, whose sole delight is in harming people by making them ill. The name of this chief is unknown, and it is well that it is. For if the people knew his name, they might call upon him unwittingly for medicine (confusing him with an alusemar) and instead of sending medicine he would send illness.

But the alusengau not only cause illness, they also "give people bad", that is, they "give people fight, steal, gossip. If no alus, people no do bad." In other words, people are intrinsically good. They do evil only because of an external principle, a power or force outside of their own characters and personalities who, as it were, controls them and leads them to evil deeds. Now, it is patent that we have a contradiction at this point. All evil is caused by the alusengau, since people themselves are intrinsically good. But at the creation of man there were no alusengau, so that if people are basically good, how did evil arise in the first place, since there were no alusengau in existence to incite it. This contradiction was answered by Arogeligar by referring to his story of Ligesges and Legubrielnialel. When the latter departed from Ifaluk, Ligesges no longer followed in her good ways, but began to do evil, and others followed her example. This, however, is an ad hoc interpretation, for actually these internal contradictions do not disturb the people. They are not interested in systematic theology or apologetics. In this connection Tom contributed a bit of folk etymology. He pointed out, in the midst of this discussion, that the rat (ges) is named after Ligesges, because the rat steals food, which is the first crime she perpetrated.

There is another major contradiction inherent in this scheme, one which serves to indicate how powerful the alusengau are taken to be. It is Aluelap who decides when a man is to die, with the agreement, according to one version, of Saulan. Yet the illness caused by the alusengau is usually fatal, and the victim dies, regardless of the will of Aluelap. Thus the alusengau are seen to be more powerful than the high god himself. Arogeligar tried to resolve this problem by use of analogy. Just as some humans disobey the chiefs, so the alusengau may disobey Aluelap—a weak argument indeed. Our interest, however, is not in the logic of the view, but in indicating how malicious and powerful these alus are conceived to be.

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It is to be remembered that nowhere in this system is there the western belief in reward and punishment. Just as there is no reward or punishment in the after-life, so the infliction of illness by an alus falls indiscriminately on good and bad alike. The concept of retribution is entirely foreign to native thought, so that when I asked why a man should do good since the alus will destroy both the good and the bad, my question was incomprehensible. Communication had ceased at that point, since the conclusion implied in the question is a non sequitur to the people.

The alusengau are responsible also for all dangerous and noxious creatures—they created the flies, mosquitos, sharks, and other pests and harmful animals.

The fear of the alusengau is one of the crucial forces in Ifaluk culture. This fear is deeply embedded in both the conscious and unconscious thoughts of the people, and is found in all age groups, even in the smallest children. In the first place the term, alus, when used generically, always refers to the alusengau, unless the context definitely indicates a benevolent variety. Thus, no one will venture alone into the bush at night, because it is at night that the alus attack. The people remain within the confines of their courtyards at night; and if they must leave, they light a coconut torch, for they believe that the alus fear the light. One evening, for example, I was sitting in a canoe-house with some young men, and I asked Talimeira to bring us some cigarettes from our tent. He was afraid to go alone lest an alus attack him. So, too, the people cover the doorways of their huts at night to keep out the alus. Again, the unmarried men had formerly slept in the club-house or canoe-houses, but they no longer do so for there are only a few unmarried men today, and they are afraid of being attacked by the alus. It is believed that babies are especially vulnerable to attack by an alus, even in the day. Hence, when a baby is taken from its home it is covered with a cloth, so that an alus will not see it. Moreover, the majority of religious ceremonies are devoted to the protection of the people from attacks by the alus. Finally, the alus play an important role in the Stewart Emotional Response Test, leading the list of fear-inspiring stimuli by a wide margin.

Preoccupation with the alus is not only felt consciously, but is found as an important element in the unconscious fantasies of the people. The number of alus figures in the free-drawings of the children is very high. Indeed, it was these drawings that first called my attention to the alus, and aroused my curiosity about their meaning for the people. Moreover twenty-six percent of the collected dreams are nightmares involving the alus. Fifty-nine figures in the Thematic Apperception Test are interpreted as alus, though there are no distinguishing characteristics in the figures which should mark them as such. Finally, people "perceive" these alus quite frequently. Arogeligar has seen many alusengau. We have already alluded to the woman who claimed that an alusengau threw stones at her. Tom, who is the most acculturated and most sophisticated of the people and who, as we shall see, expressed skepticism concerning the power of the alusemar, has no doubt

that people see the alusengau. One morning, for example, he came in inform me that the night before, while he had been with us, his wife and adult son had heard an alus; they first heard his cane being dragged across the roof of their house, and later they heard someone walking about the house, and then spit. They were both very frightened, but when they heard the steps again, they looked for the alus (for that is what they thought it was), but it was gone. I asked Tom if he had any defense against the alus, but he said he had none. He wanted to know if I could protect myself if an alus should want to attack me, and I said I could. He asked me if I would give him my defense, but I explained that only Americans could use it. But I told him that if the alus should appear again, he should call me, and I would scare him away with my flashlight, since the alus, I told him, were frightened by flashlights. In the late afternoon Tom came to our tent to remind me of my promise. The next morning when Tom came to see us I asked if the alus had come the night before, and he said it had not come because it had heard him discussing the matter with me, and had been frightened away.

Another time I noticed that Tom had moved into an uninhabited house in his courtyard. When I asked for the reason he explained that he had dreamed of being chased by an alús, and therefore moved to the other house as a precautionary measure. This, indeed, indicates strong fear in view of the fact that dreams are usually not interpreted as omens of the future, or as having

any significance whatsoever.

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It is obvious from this evidence that we are dealing here with a profoundly significant belief in Ifaluk culture and personality alike. For no matter how conceptualized, every person lives in fear of the alus. No one ever expressed any skepticism concerning either their existence or their power. Now this lack of skepticism cannot be attributed solely to conditioning factors, or to the culture pattern, or the determinism of the collective representations from which the savage cannot extricate himself, to employ the jargon of three alternative schools of thought. For if these factors were primarily responsible for the firmness of this belief, then the same lack of skepticism should prevail in the belief in the benevolent alus, the alusemar, and such is not the case. Here, the people are entirely pragmatic in their approach, their belief being contingent upon the objective evidence of the alusemar's power. The only documentation for this assertion comes from Tom. Now it might be argued that his higher degree of acculturation accounts for his skepticism. But this is untenable for this acculturation did not induce any skepticism as regards the alusengau and, despite his acculturation, Tom accepts the entire pattern of native beliefs, practices, and attitudes.

In discussing the <u>alusemar</u>, Tom once remarked that, "If god talk lie, people throw away." That is, should an <u>alusemar</u> promise to restore a man's health and not succeed, he is discarded in favor of another. On another occasion, we were waiting for Arogeligar's diagnosis and prognosis of the illness of Paliuilimar, the third ranking chief. After it was given, Tom said,

"I don't know; maybe that god talk true, maybe talk lie."

The alus are not only feared in themselves, but their activity, the causing of illness, occupies much of the people's energies and anxieties. The people have a morbid fear of illness, and all religion is concerned with the prevention of illness and the maintenance of health. Their preoccupation with illness is indicated by a variety of data. One of the first questions asked of a traveler from another atoll is whether anyone is ill. In the Stewart Emotional Response Test, illness is the highest item on the list of stimuli that induce sadness, and one of the highest on the fear-eliciting list. The perception of illness and death in the Thematic Apperception Test is inordinately high. But the greatest indication of such preoccupation and fear is afforded, as we have already mentioned, by religion itself. Protection against the alus is the primary, if not sole, function of religion. But before we describe these religious techniques we must turn to a description of disease.

Disease

There are three categories of disease, or Tamai, in Ifaluk. These are: (1) Tamai-le-alusengau, diseases caused by the alus. (2) Mesilipik or Mesen, diseases caused by Mesilipik. (3) Luwegoba, diseases caused by dirt.

We shall first examine the diseases classified under tamai-le-alusengau, and give a short description of the therapy employed. In all these diseases it is believed that the patient is a victim of an attack by the alusengau, who possesses his victim, and who must be exorcised if the latter is to get well. Hence the purpose of the therapy is the exorcism of the alus. The procedures used consist mainly of incantations and herbal medicines. Texts of incantations will follow the list of diseases. Herbal medicines are stirred into water or coconut juice and consumed by the patient.

(1) Maliel: This infrequent, but fatal illness, is characterized by dizziness in the head. The patient is given medicine, after which his face is covered with a taro leaf; a small flame is held over the leaf, and an incanta-

tion, or gapeng, is sung.

(2) Tamai-le-tagurul: This is frequent, but not fatal. It consists of a very sore back which prevents the person from rising. Medicine, prepared from herbs, is heated very hot, and is held over the patient's back. When the medicine cools, it is placed in a cloth and put directly on his back. This treatment is given morning and afternoon, and is preceded by a gapeng.

(3) Metageserae: This is relatively frequent and fatal, and consists of pains in the stomach. Stomach pains cover a multitude of disease entities. Unquestionably this category includes ruptured appendix, from which two of the four deaths we witnessed were caused. The patient is given medicine to drink, and a gapeng is sung, while the healer waves a coconut palm over the patient.

(4) Imailolo: Continuous vomiting. This is neither frequent nor fatal, and is cured by the consumption of medicine.

(5) Metageleperei: This is a sore leg, which is neither frequent nor fatal, and is treated by placing medicine on the leg.

(6) Mesatat: This is relatively frequent, (about the same as 3), and is fatal. It is a form of sea-sickness. The patient is given medicine to drink, a gapeng is sung, while the healer waves a coconut palm over the patient.

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(7) Ebung: A broken bone. In this case, the person is not possessed, though the accident is caused by the alus; hence an incantation is not required.

(8) Kopitok: Cuts and bruises. These are caused by the alus, though, again, the victims are not possessed. Herbs are applied.

(9) Malebush: This category includes all cases of abnormal and subnormal mental functioning. The victims are possessed by vicious alus that cannot be exorcised. The number of malebush on Ifaluk during our stay was fairly large. They included four feeble-minded children, one epileptoid child, two schizophrenic adults, and one agorophobic adult. These different malebush were possessed by different types of alus. The feeble-minded children and one of the schizophrenics were possessed by an alusetat. The other schizophrenic and the epileptoid girl were possessed by an alusefalu. The agorophobic was possessed by an alusengau of the sky.

The second category of disease comprises those caused by meselipik. Now meselipik is a difficult concept to delineate. It is not clear whether it should be referred to as he, they, or it. The people say that meselipik is "all same cold," so that those illnesses characterized by chills or fevers are caused by meselipik. Meselipik, then, may be characterized as the personification of chills. The origin or creation of meselipik is unknown, but it is conceived as subsisting between the islands, and carries illness from other islands to Ifaluk on the winds. It is responsible for four illnesses, all of them infrequent, and all fatal. These are:

(1) Ikolevo: Severe chills, cured by the drinking of medicine.

(2) Izamezelibwex: Intense fever, cured by the drinking of medicine.

(3) Mazetra: Blood in the faeces, probably amoebic dysentary. The therapy consists of the consumption of medicine, and the singing of a gapeng, while a coconut palm is waved over the patient.

(4) Gilixa: This is characterized by red spots covering the body, and is cured by the consumption of medicine.

The third category of disease is <u>Luegoba</u>, which comprises all skin diseases--yaws, gangosa, leprosy--which are not fatal, but for which there is no cure. These are thought to be caused by dirt.

These categories of disease exhaust the list. Sorcery is absent in Ifaluk, the very concept being foreign to the people. Why should a person desire another's death, is the general attitude of the people when questioned. And even if he should, how would he achieve his ends? On the other hand, Tom once observed that in the past certain men could invoke the assistance of the alusto bring about someone's death, but no one today possesses these powers. It is highly probable that this opinion was acquired by Tom outside of Ifaluk, for much questioning of the other people elicited only incredulity concerning

sorcery. This is not to deny that individuals may harbor death wishes against others. In the Thematic Apperception Test a number of people perceived the human figures as dead. These perceptions may be interpreted in at least two ways: they may represent hostile, death wishes against others; or they may represent personal identifications with inert, lifeless people, as projections of the flatness of the perceiver's inner life. At this point, it is premature to choose between these alternative interpretations, though it is probable that both are operating here.

Incantations: The incantations for the various diseases, as obtained from the priest-doctor Arogeligar, may now be recorded. These gapeng were received by Arogeligar from Tilitr, who received them from Aluelap.

Mesatat:

You alus of the seas, Enough! I cast you out. Depart! I am a god-man ("I god, I man") Thou, oh God, hasten! Hasten to the dwelling of Aluelap, and place your arm in front of the house! Descend into the deep, and take stone and water. My song envelopes you. (as a protecting shield) From me. In the land of Ifaluk. Remove. (the illness) You alus of the seas, Remove your foot from this man, (i.e. remove the illness) Saiol! (the name of the alus). Oh you sick one, Hide! Hide underneath a small stone, Hide underneath a large stone, Hide! (hide from the alus)

Mazetra:

You shall not die, you of the red (disease)
You shall not die, you of the red (disease)
You shall live.

I! I!
I press (this medicine)
Into the bones of your soul
You shall not die! you shall live!
You shall not die! you shall live!
You shall not die! you shall live!

Maliel:

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Oh you who live in the heavenly abode Iligisap. (name of the place) Remember in how many days you descend, Remember in how many months you descend, Remember in how many years you descend, to the people of this land. Aluelap and Saulan, speak! Come to the shrine of the god, oh you people, Make flowers for my shrine. (Tilitr is talking.) Take the lemon flower, the red Aro flower. the branch of the Aro tree. Remove the illness from our midst, Give us medicine from thy abode. Wave the branches over the heads, Oh departed souls descend! All men speak well. (i.e., they do not lie, gossip, etc.) Fine is your "stomach", for your talk is good, (the god speaks this) you are like the rays of the sun, like the light in the "stomach" of the gods. The son of Tilitr is very happy. The son of Tilitr is very pleased. Should an alus seize a man's soul, Tilivamar will surely prevent him. An alus will not make off with a soul. The sky of the alus is far indeed. Some of your people are wise, and some are not (the god speaks this) They know not that Tilitr takes the souls of men. The god is not like man, he is like the birds, he is like the winds. he is like the rain, that tarry not on the land. (i.e., he comes to the earth for a short time, and then leaves.)

He changes his course like the wind.

Like the wind, he comes from the north,

and returns to the south,

the distance between America and the Carolines.

He is like the Sug bird that travels on land and on sea.

The gods come on the seas,

Remaleme and Tilivamar,

Where are they now?

Farewell.

He comes to his people--do they live or die,

the people of the Carolines.

He sees as with binoculars.

Now I depart, to return in the future.

I travel to other lands.

I travel to Europe,

I journey to other lands to inquire of their ways.

I am as the guardian of Europe,

I watch over Japan.

Japan will succumb to America.

I shall aid the god of America, I shall end the war,
the war of men in combat,
for the Caroline people fear the war,
greatly fear the war,
the girls and boys who make flowers for the gods fear the war.

Tamailatagurul:

Straighten the arteries, the veins and the bones. Be straightened, oh veins, be straightened. Be straightened, oh veins, big and not small. In the future, healed are my veins, they are straight, they are big.

the foot of the god turns it aside,

like the shell of a turtle.

Metegeserai:

Illness, depart from the stomach.

Enter, enter (oh god)

Enter that man, and remove his illness,
oh Malemelel. (the god who gave men this song)

Sing for me,
So that I die not.
You will not die, illness will not consume you,
You will remain on land, and not in the ocean, (the dead are buried in the ocean)
You will remain here as firm as the reef,
you will not move.

Who cast that spear into you? (the illness is like a spear cast by a devil)
If an alus, you shall not die.
You are strong as a turtle shell that a spear cannot penetrate.
The spear is deflected,

Fasten it to a rope, and remove it. as you would the Sari fish. the fish of Wolfat. Tilitr affirms: The illness of the alus is weak, it must perish before my medicine. Illness of the alus, depart! The illness of the alus will not enter you. you who reside in my land. Whence comes the alus? Come to the alus, oh god. Come and give me of your medicine. Cast off the alus, one hundred gods. two hundred gods. Between the god and the alus is the ill man. The tail of the turtle will kill the alus. the tail of the turtle. It will stir the insides of the ill man, and remove the illness.

Illness! you have no nourishment, perish!

No more, no more! No more, no more!

Oh alus who possesses this stomach,

Fall off his stomach, as a man falls off a plank!

remove the illness, and depart,

Therapeutic Ritual

Where therapeutic care is indicated, the procedure is as follows: Usually Arogeligar is called to diagnose the illness and its cause and to prescribe the cure. He then performs the healing. If his cure is not efficacious, others will attempt to cure the victim by means of medicine they learned in their family. Arogeligar, though the chief healer, is not the only one who can perform the healing ceremonies. If others know the technique, they are permitted to do so, though they are few in number.

It may be well to describe one or two concrete cases of medical treatment. Paliuilimar, the third ranking chief, had been ill for about a month and, from the symptoms, it seemed like amoebic dysentary to us. Arogeligar and others brought him medicine, but to no avail. Arogeligar concluded that this was a serious illness that required a gapeng and special medicine.

A few days before the ceremony, Arogeligar had met Burrows, and asked him if we had any medicine to give to Paliuilimar. That the chief healer should ask the strangers for medicine is very significant for it indicates, among other things, the lack of certainty on the part of the expert concerning the efficacy of the alusemar, and their curing powers.

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Later that afternoon as I was walking towards the house of Paliuilimar to bring him some medicine, I met Arogeligar. He said he would perform a ceremony that evening for Paliuilimar, and invited us to witness it. All medicine ceremonies are held in the evening. The people explain that it is taboo to do any work immediately after the ceremony, so that if it were held in the day, the participants would have to remain inactive for the rest of the day.

After the men had collected their toddy, the ceremony began. Since Paliuilimar was a chief, the entire courtyard was filled with people sitting around the house. The entire district of Falarik, with few exceptions, and all his kin from the other districts were in attendance. In the center of the stage were Arogeligar and two male assistants. Arogeligar had a marmar on his head, a woman's belt across one shoulder, extending in front of his chest, a cotton ball in his hair, in which were placed two white chicken feathers, and a tria comb in his hair. On his right wrist was a coconut leaf strip, and his face was painted.

A mat was set just outside the doorway, for Paliuilimar to sit on, and Arogeligar thrust some coconut branches into this mat prior to the exit of Paliuilimar. When Paliuilimar came out, he sat on the mat, and Arogeligar placed four coconuts all clinging to one stem in front of him. There was no talking of any kind, and a hush had fallen over the people. Arogeligar picked up a long coconut palm, and approached Paliuilimar, reciting a gapeng in muted tones, and alternately striking the four coconuts, and bringing the palm back over his shoulder. When the gapeng was completed, he swept the palm horizontally from one shoulder blade to the other in rapid succession several times. He then picked one coconut from the stem, and holding it over the head of Paliuilimar, cut an incision in it with a wooden knife.

The people have steel knives and ordinarily never use wooden knives, nor had I ever seen a wooden knife previously. This is an interesting point for the student of acculturation, with respect to differentials in the degree of acceptance and resistance of foreign objects. Despite the greater physical efficiency of the steel knife, the wooden one is used for this ceremony; and a small shell, rather than a steel knife, is still used to sever the baby's umbiligus.

After several strokes withe the wooden knife, Arogeligar plunged it into the coconut with a deft movement of the wrist. The coconut water spilled over Paliuilimar's head, and as it was falling Arogeligar sprinkled it over the heads of those sitting in the immediate vicinity. This "medicine" has not only a therapeutic value, but a prophylactic one as well, so that parents, with young infants in their arms, sat close to Paliuilimar in order that the infants could receive it. When the coconut was dry, Arogeligar held it in his left hand, and cast it over his right shoulder, leaving it where it fell, without watching to see where it landed. The identical procedure was repeated with a second coconut.

Arogeligar then took a small twig of a palm branch, smoothed back the hair of Paliuilimar, which was dripping with the coconut water, after which Paliuilimar reentered the house. Tobacco belonging to Paliuilimar was then passed among the people, while Arogeligar rubbed paint into the

incisions in the coconuts, which remained where they had fallen, and were not moved. He then went into the house to sing a gapeng, and the people were informed to return the following morning for the conclusion of the ceremony.

The people assembled the following morning at dawn. Arogeligar repeated the coconut ceremony with the two remaining nuts. He could then make his diagnosis which depended upon the configurations of the paint in the incisions he had cut in the coconuts the previous day. After reading these configurations he announced his diagnosis. The illness was caused by two alus. One was an a alusetat. The other, the main cause of the disease, was an alusengau of Paliuilimar's parental home, Bwennau. Unlike the alusemar, not every house has its own alusengau. However, there are cases in which a great number of people of one household die suddenly, in which case it is inferred that the deaths are caused by the alusengau of this lineage, and the people abandon the house and build a new one. Now this happened to be the case here. Paliuilimar's lineage house, Bwennau, had been abandoned because of the sudden deaths of a number of its members, so that it is known that alusengau of his lineage are particularly vicious.

This ceremony, like all ceremonies, was followed in the late afternoon by a feast, partially provided by Paliuilimar, most of it brought by the assembled people.

Thus we see that the diagnosis of the illness is simple, merely being an identification of the symptoms. The diagnosis of the cause, however, involves the performance of the ceremony just described. This ceremony is not only of diagnostic value, but it is therapeutic, as well, for the juice of the coconuts used in the ceremony becomes the medicine to be used in the therapy, after Arogeligar recites the gapeng.

All those who participate in the ceremony are under the taboo of not working. The taboo is removed by the partaking of food at the feast. The members of the lineage, however, may not work for four days.

In case of a protracted illness, the members of the person's immediate family do not cut their hair. The person, himself, may not have his food cooked from the family fire, but has it cooked on a separate fire. It is taboo, also, for a person who is well to eat food prepared on the fire of a sick person. The patient is visited every day by various kin who come to talk, to bring food or to help around the house. The women gather at the house in the day, but in the evening the men and children join them, sitting about, talking in modulated tones, but offering no consolation or commiseration to the victim. If the person is seriously ill and there is a strong possibility of death, the kin alternate in sleeping in the house of the victim, or in the house adjacent to it. The people say that they do this to keep abreast of the condition of the one who is sick. Whatever the reason, the practice was followed every night following the medicine ceremony for Paliuilimar, as well as for the person whose ceremony is to be described below.

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Nabwor, the daughter of a deceased chief, a married woman, and mother of five children, complained of pains in her stomach, which were diagnosed as metageserai which, in this case, was probably a ruptured appendix. Various people brought her medicine, Arogeligar recited the proper gapeng, but all to no avail. She was then moved from her house to the house of kin on the other island. This is a common procedure. It is believed that the alús might depart if the patient is moved from his own house. But her condition did not improve, and a number of ceremonies were conducted for her. She was then moved to another house, and a four day ceremony was held. Later, when her condition was thought to be very grave, she was moved to her own house, since it is believed that a person should die in his own lineage house. A few days after her return home, the ceremony for metageserai was performed, in which Maroligar officiated. The ceremony was repeated on four successive nights. It is held inside the house, and all the kin of the patient and the kin of the spouse are in attendance, at least on one of the four nights. The immediate family participates on all nights. Maroligar wore a strip of a green coconut branch about his neck, and a cotton head-dress in his hair. In his right hand he held the medicine, which consisted of herbs enclosed in coconut bark attached to a coconut branch. Before beginning the gapeng he dipped the medicine in some water, and had Nabwor drink from it as he squeezed it into her mouth. He then began the gapeng, assisted by the assembled people, while he waved the medicine bundle over the patient, who lay prostrate before him. The motion employed resembles a throwing motion, as if he were about to throw a spear. He clasps the medicine over his shoulder, and then directs it out over the patient, circling it over her for the duration of one line of the gapeng, and then returns it over his shoulder, only to direct it out again at the beginning of a new line. At the end of each stanza, Maroligar dipped the medicine into water, sprinkled some on the chest of the patient, and then began the next stanza, repeating the same movements. When the gapeng was finished, there was an intermission of about fifteen minutes, and then it was repeated in its entirety. At the completion of this ceremony Maroligar distributed tobacco to all present, and they then sang some general gapengs.

These ceremonies are very solemn and profoundly impressive. house is illuminated by a single flame of a candle, casting its shadows in fantastic forms about the house, while the atonal music, and the words of the gapeng cast a never-to-be-forgotten spell on the observer. The people are solemn, no one talking or laughing; and the mood of the adults permeates even to the children, for they are quiet throughout the entire proceedings. After the ceremony, however, there is talking and laughing, though in subdued tones. The reaction of the patient to this ceremony is not known, but one could venture the guess that it does not improve her morale, to say the least. The gapeng reminds her of her possible death, the severity of her illness, and of her possession by an alus, the latter being a terrifying thought.

The afternoon following the ceremony just described was the occasion for the usual feast. The men went fishing in the morning and the women prepared taro, and again each family brought its own food, consuming it at the house of Nabwor. Only those who had participated in the ceremonies, of course, came to the feast. The people were dressed in their finest—the women wore their new lavalavas, and the men and women, both, had painted faces. Everyone was solemn and very quiet, and talk was hushed and low. This insistence on silence at these feasts results in the only attempt I know of to curb the free expression of children. A mother will slap her child's hand, or put her hand over its mouth if he should persist in speaking loudly. After completing their meals the people departed one by one, though not before Arogeligar had distributed the cigarettes that we had brought to Maroligar, and had made a humorous speech.

Aside from these important curing ceremonies, there are medicine ceremonies for the ill in which only the lineage participates. They are held in the house of the sick person, and the house is taboo to anyone but the participants.

There are other taboos associated with the making or consumption of medicine. After making medicine from herbs, there are periods of isolation, ranging from a day to a month--depending upon the nature of the medicine--during which time the person neither sleeps in his house nor eats any food prepared in it. The consumption of certain kinds of medicine puts one under the taboo on eating food cooked on a fire of breadfruit wood, or taking a light from a breadfruit-punk fire.

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Prophylactic Ritual

The association of religion and medicine is found not only in the healing of individuals, but also in the group or public ceremonies and rituals. All public ceremonies are medicine ceremonies, in which medicine is prepared and consumed, as a prophylactic against future illness, and in which the alusemar are invoked to protect the people from illness. Though many alus are involved, it is Tilitr that plays the important role in these ceremonies. Tilitr lives in Fatuma with the pantheon of high gods, but descends to Ifaluk frequently, particularly when he is invoked at the public ceremonies, and then returns to Aluelap to report to him. Tilitr, as has already been indicated, is the patron saint of Ifaluk, protecting the people from evil and from illness.

Though Tilitr dwells in Fatuma, he and his sons have shrines on Ifaluk, to which they often descend. Of the eight shrines, seven are for Tilitr or his sons.

There is one shrine in Falarik, <u>Bwutaliwenol</u>, in the lineage house of Nuteitei, for the son of Tilitr, Wuluaro. In Rauau, there are two shrines; <u>Bwuter Tilitr</u>, the shrine of Tilitr, which is inside the public house, the <u>Fan nap of Katelu</u>, and <u>Bwuter Tiliwetan</u>, the shrine of Tiliwetan, a son of

Tilitr, that is in the courtyard of the lineage of the Uelepi house. There are four shrines in Falalap: Bwuter Talewearo, a son of Tilitr, Bwuter Tilialo, a son of Tilitr, Bwuter Rangolan, a son of Saulan, and Bwuter Tilitr. Except for two of these, the shrines are merely circular mounds of white, smooth sand, surrounded on its circumference by rocks, with a medicine plant in the center. In case of illness, tobacco or even lavalavas may be offered to the alus to help expreise the alusengau. The shrines are made of sand because Tilitr does not like place "all same wet and stink," which is the earth. He likes only dry and clean places.

The main shrine is Bwuter Tilitr in Falalap, for here all the major ceremonies are held. It, too, is a shrine of sand, but in addition has four upright sticks, which represent Aluelap; Lugweiling, his son; Wolfat, his

grandson; and Tilitr.

Bwuter Tilitr in Pauau is in the Fan nap, and is a platform, with sides about a foot high, on which are placed tobacco, and from its upright poles always hang offerings of lavalavas.

In Falalap, one shrine is a small model house, in which hang offerings

of lavalavas.

Having neither calendars nor other formal methods of reckoning time, religious ceremonies are not held at regularly defined intervals, but are called by the chiefs at the suggestion of Arogeligar, when he feels the time is propitious. The first ceremony we witnessed, a medicine-making ceremony, is called only at the command of Tilitr himself. An inhabitant of the dwelling in whose courtyard is the Bwuter Tilitr on Falālap, is possessed by Tilitr, who informs him that the ceremony should be held. In the case of the ceremony we observed, a very old and infirm man was possessed, and a two-day ceremony was called.

The ceremony started in mid-morning, and as we approached the Bwuter Tilitr, men and women were seated around the sand shrine, singing a gapeng, and pulling a rope of grass back and forth around the circumference of the sand. From within the house the old man who had been possessed was still uttering unintelligible sounds, and at times would burst into song with the people outside. At the same time other people were assembling; and on one side of the court, a number of young men were husking huge quantities of coconuts. When all the people had arrived, the ceremony began. It should be understood that everyone attends these ceremonies, so that the entire population was congregated within the courtyard, facing the shrine. Men and women sit separately. The people were "dressed up" in new loin cloths and skirts. They were quiet during the ceremony, some exhibiting a very profound reverence. Even the children were quiet, desisting from their usual horseplay. Arogeligar, the officiating priest, gave orders to make the medicine, and the young men, who had husked the coconuts, opened them, permitting their juice to run into two large metal vats. When this was completed, the angorIk and warung plants were mixed into the coconut juice \$0 form the medicine. Arogeligar then sprinkled this medicine on the people,

in all four directions. The young men then passed out coconut shells, filled with the medicine, which the people drank. The medicine had a very pleasant ginger taste, given it by the plant.

When the medicine had been consumed, a young man, one of Arogeligar's assistants, stood in the midst of the assembly, and sang a gapeng, while waving two of the medicine plants to-and-fro. He then sat down, took a branch of the same plant, dipped it in the medicine, and as people gathered about him, he sang the next verse of the gapeng, while circling the branch around his head. When the verse was completed, he dipped the branch in the medicine once again, and sang the next verse.

When the gapeng was completed, the ceremony was over. Now the people all joined in the farewell to the <u>alus</u>, which ends all religious ceremonies. It is shouted in a shrill kind of staccato, rising to a crescendo at the tayokidis at the end, and ending with a trilled whistle.

The gapeng chanted at the ceremony was taught to Arogeligar by Tilitr, who in turn taught it to the people. The farewell chant was taught to Arogeligar by Aluelap. The vocabulary as well as construction is unusual, the people understanding very little of it. An attempt at translation follows:

The Farewell Hymn

I

Farewell, farewell, my chief, who dwells on high. I have tarried here long, but people have not come (this spoken by Tilitr, who continues)

I am lonesome for my chief (Aluelap), for he is my mentor, my protector.

Depart. Your chief is weary, he has descended to the earth, But no mortal has come. (Tilior to Tilitr)

Descend, descend to Ifaluk, and protect its people and its chiefs, (Aluelap to Tilitr)

Protect them from the arms of the Americans and of the Japanese,

Instruct your people to make flower garlands, and to place them on your altar.

It is finished,

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It is finished.

II

Good-by now, farewell my chief, farewell my chief. (addressed to Saulan)

Good-by, oh my chief, who dwells in the heavens. (addressed to Aluelap)

Good-by, good-by,

I return, and the people depart, good-by, good-by, good-by. (tayokidis)

With the farewell, the morning ceremony was over and the people returned to their homes. In the afternoon, they reassembled. Arogeligar's assistants each took a plant, soaked it in the coconut juice remaining from the morning, and then squeezed it out into individual coconut shells, to be consumed shortly. They then jerked their arms over their heads in a sudden movement, so that the juice was sprinkled onto the people sitting around them.

One of the officiators then dipped a branch of the plant into the medicine, and accompanied by two other officiators, he chanted a gapeng while revolving the branch about his head in a clockwise direction. He then dipped the branch into the medicine, and revolved it in a counter-clockwise direction. When he finished, the farewell hymn was sung, ending the ceremony proper.

The medicine was then distributed among the people, first giving some to the ethnographers and then to the people. The medicine had an oily texture, and tasted like a western laxative.

While this medicine was being distributed, Arogeligar lit four cigarettes, and placed them in the sand of the shrine, as offerings to the alus. He then sat immersed in meditation, looking towards the sky at intervals.

When the medicine was consumed, tobacco was distributed among the people, and Arogeligar made a speech exhorting the people to obey the chiefs and to obey the ethnographers.

The people returned to their homes--work and sexual relations being taboo. The next day there was to be a feast, and that night the men went fishing after the appearance of the moon. The next morning the men resumed their fishing, while the women prepared taro and breadfruit. It was not until late afternoon that we started for Falalap. As we approached the women were singing at the shrine, while making flower garlands. The possessed man was still semi-delirious and would break into song at irregular intervals.

When the shrine was completely encircled with garlands, the remainder were distributed among the people. Arogeligar announced that the alus had informed him that the American visitors were very fine men, and that they should receive garlands.

The chiefs then gave their permission to begin eating. This time the sexes were not separated, because the people sat in family groups, except for the chiefs who ate with the ethnographers. At the conclusion of the meal the people disbanded and returned to their homes.

Shortly after this ceremony, Arogeligar announced a forthcoming medicine-dance. Tilitr had possessed him and informed him that a medicine-dance should be held, for if it were not, illness would descend on the people. After a two week preparation, the dance was held. Like the other religious ceremonies devoted to health, this one has a dual function; it serves to protect the healthy from disease, and it has a therapeutic effect on those who are ill. The dance was held at Bwuter Tilitr, on Falalap, and the people were decorously dressed with flower wreaths, painted faces, and headdresses of cotton batton in which were fastened white chicken feathers. The dance was in two parts, one consisting of men, and one of the women. In both cases the dancers sat in a row facing the onlookers.

The men assumed quasi-feminine garb for this occasion. They wore skirts made of coconut branches, over their loin cloths, and they wore women's shell belts. Arogeligar, of course, was in charge of this dance, whose participants --young men and boys--had been practicing almost two weeks.

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The dance is a sitting-dance, and the dancers accompany themselves with songs. The dance consists only in the movement of the arms and of the torso. The arms are extended in front of the body at face level, the hands are weaved and waved, then the arms are flexed and the hands gesture towards the body in an enfolding movement, culminating in a clapping of the biceps as arms cross. Both the men's and women's dances are the same, the women dancing when the men are finished.

An interesting sidelight in both dances is the little "game" played by Wolpetau, the first ranking chief. He walked behind the dancers, cigarettes in hand, and held some cigarettes over the head of a dancer while blowing his whistle. Any member of the dancer's lineage could seize the cigarettes from his hand. This produced much laughter and excitement, which contrasted with the seriousness of the dance and its serious intent.

When the dancing was completed, the usual distribution of coconuts by household followed. Following the consumption of the coconuts, Toromann presented Tilitr with a new lavalava, which was placed on the shrine. Speeches by Arogeligar, Toromann, and Wolpetau followed, all stressing the necessity to obey the chiefs and to be good. The chiefs then distributed their tobacco by households to the people.

No ceremony was held for over a month and a half, at which time a minor ceremony was held in the late morning, with only the people of the Falarik district in attendance. It was held, as usual, at Bwuter Tilitr. The altar was surrounded with red and white colored marmar, which were distributed among the people, each person receiving at least one of each color. Arogeligar then made a speech addressed to the chiefs telling them that they must ensure better care of the shrine. He then announced a medicine-making ceremony for the following day, and told the women to prepare the timas, which will be explained below. The people then gathered about the shrine to say the traditional farewell.

The women retired to prepare the timas. The timas are mats made of young coconut leaflets, which the young men hang on trees along the shores, encircling both islands. Before they are hung on the trees, five men sing a ritual song over them. The words of the song cling to the timas, and as they sway in the breeze the words are automatically repeated over and over again. The people, of course, cannot hear the words, but the alus and illness can, and when they attempt to enter the islands and cause illness, they are frightened by the song, and do not enter. The word, timas, therefore, may well be a contraction of itoae mas, "not die".

The name of the song sung over the timas is called Aluselitimas.

Sickness and <u>alus</u>: Depart, depart Depart from this island of Ifaluk Depart.

Cease! all illness that comes to these shores.

Depart Maselepi and Tria. (Maselepi seems to be the common cold. Tria is a slight illness that comes to those who do not excuse themselves when they walk above those who are sitting.)

Do not enter, Nesuaregeruch, (Nesuaregeruch is an alus.)

Oh you mighty alus.

If you come, be you thwarted.

If you bring illness, may it be turned away.

Depart Nesuaregeruch, Mesuanepelap. (Two alus)

May illness visit us not in the future.

If you come, you will surely die.

Come not, you cough,

for if you come, the tarewa will devour you. (Tarewa is a big fish) Oh you illness, come not directly, but be deflected from your

course, as a drunken man.

If you come, timas will rise, and you will be thrust aside.

Come not on top of our houses.

If the alus comes, he will surely stumble.

If illness comes, timas will surely protect us.

The mouth of Maselipik shall not open. (to devour people, or give them illness.)

If illness comes, I hover over the men, and the illness will depart. (When a man is ill, Arogeligar drives out the illness by waving a coconut leaf over him. The timas serves this function for the entire population.)

I turn to the gods, I sing their song, they will surely remove the illness.

Oh, wave, and remove the illness.

People will not die, they will not be cast into the ocean.

The ill will not die. They will remain here as does the ground.

If illness comes, it cannot prevail.

If illness comes, my song will encircle me, and protect me.

(the song is like a magic circle, protecting those inside it)

If I take ill, the god will come to me.

Myriads of illnesses will not enter me.

Many illnesses will prevail not against me, for my song protects me.

If a man should fall sick, he shall not succumb.

The god will protect me.

He will protect me as a barricade against the illness.

Go! (says the god to the illness)

Illness will not see you.

Do not enter that man.

Do not enter. Do not enter.

You are not powerful.

You, you, you (to the alus)

enter not, enter not.

Enter and die. (The song of the timas will kill the alus)

These people will not die, nor will they ascend to the heavens.

The following day, after the timas had been hung by the young men, the ceremony was held. This time it was held not at Bwuter Tilitr, but near the small club-house in Falalap across the channel from Falarik. Coconut juice was poured into the cauldron, as before, and angorlk was added to it. This medicine was then passed among the people in coconut shells, after which the young men gathered about the cauldron, and chanted the following gapeng, which ended the ceremony. This is a traditional song, called sisitenitavei, meaning, "place medicine in the cauldron and sing."

My arm has made this medicine, hot as fire, to ward off illness My medicine is hot as fire. Those who drink will not fall ill My arm is hot as fire.

My medicine is hot. Illness will not come.

My medicine is very hot. It descends into the oceans. It is very hot.

My medicine is very hot; it descends into the waters; it ascends into the heavens. (the point being that Aluelap finally puts it into the cauldron.)

Drink of this medicine, and be well.

Drink, and live.

This is the medicine of Tilitr. (At this point it is stirred.)

Tilewetan has given it its healing powers.

Depart, you alus,

Depart and sleep under the sands.

Depart, Depart!

Depart, Depart!

Depart, you alus of the reef,

Depart, you alus of the reef.

Depart, Depart!

Sleep!

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Religious offerings: Aside from the alusemar already described, there are special alusemar for the different economic specialties, so that the alusesennap

are the alus for the carpenters, and the alusepalu are the alus for the navigators. These alus are members of one family and dwell in the sky, near the abode of Aluelap. Aluluei is the father of this illustrious family, and is the chief navigator in the sky, as well as the patron saint of the navigators on earth. One son, Paluelap is also a navigator, Selangi is the master-canoe carpenter, Alulemas is the repairer of houses and canoes, and Fatrevai is the weather expert. Each of these sons is proficient only in his own specialty, and is completely dependent upon the others for assistance in theirs.

The specialists on earth turn to these <u>alús</u> for assistance and aid in their undertakings, and the requisite rituals are part of the instruction that the specialist imparts to the apprentice during his training period. These <u>alús</u>

are the recipients of a token-sacrifice known as io-io.*

There are four <u>alus</u> to whom <u>io-io</u> are offered, three of the four being offered to these specialist <u>alus</u>. Lugweilang is the other <u>alus</u> who receives an <u>io-io</u>. The person who brings medicine to a sick man, whether he be Arogeligar or any other person, offers an <u>io-io</u> of coconuts to Lugweilang, asking him at the same time to ensure the efficacy of the medicine. A short time later he offers an <u>io-io</u> of food, which is placed in a special dish, and is later thrown away.

Alulumas, the patron saint of the house carpenters, receives an $\underline{i}\overline{\sigma}-\underline{i}\overline{\sigma}$ at the completion of any construction job. He, too, recieves two $\underline{i}\overline{o}-\underline{i}\overline{o}$, one of coconut and one of food. When the men drink the coconuts that are distributed after each construction work, the juice that squirts out of the nut as it is opened is accounted as an $\underline{i}\overline{o}-\underline{i}\overline{o}$, and the chief carpenter on the job asks Alulumas that if "I repair another structure, let not a beam fall down on me. Now that I have completed one, I offer you this coconut."

When the men gather again for the customary feast, one or two days after the completion of the work, a portion of fish and taro is wrapped in a leaf, and placed in the ocean as an <u>io-io</u> to Alulumas, and the same words or words to that effect are uttered.

For canoe construction it is Seilangi, the patron saint of canoe carpenters, who received the <u>io-io</u>. His, too, is the dual offering of coconut and food. At the completion of the canoe, the head carpenter places a coconut on the side of the canoe, and says, "I give you this coconut; should I make another canoe, (assist me so that it will be) very fine." Again when the men gather for their feast, the head carpenter expresses the same sentiment, and discards some food from his plate, as an <u>io-io</u> to Seilangi.

Aluluei is the recipient of the $\underline{i}\overline{o}-\underline{i}\overline{o}$ when an ocean voyage is undertaken. As the canoe leaves the lagoon and enters the ocean, two coconuts are dropped overboard for Aluluei, and the navigator says, "Look after my canoe, that it not drift off its course, that it not be destroyed by wind and rain."

^{*} Sarfert incorrectly calls these <u>banewan</u>. The <u>banewan</u> is any gift a person gives to another, whereas the io-io is a token gift offering to the alus.

Also offered to Aluluei are breadfruit, taro, and a new lavalava. These, however, are only symbolic offerings, since the food is consumed when the destination is reached, and the lavalava is brought back with the canoe, to be worn.

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The <u>io-io</u> for a canoe journey is not the only ritual performed. Before boarding a canoe for an overseas trip, one of the sailors beats the water with a coconut leaf, so that it will remain calm. Then the captain takes a coconut and while asking Paluelap for a safe trip, he strikes the prow of the canoe on all sides with the coconut.

Magic

Malinowski's observation that magic is used in those areas of life in which the degree of control and predictability is slight, is borne out on Ifaluk. There is no garden ritual of any kind that we could discover. The taro grows regularly, only weeding and transplanting with fertilization being required. There has never been a crop failure, or drouth or any other unforeseen contingency that has affected the supply. Breadfruit and coconuts grow without tending. Thus in those matters there is no magic, though there are a number of taboos, the violation of which will adversely affect the food supply.

In hazardous undertakings, however, as in house construction, in which there is the chance of men being crushed to death, or in ocean voyages, in which storms may sink the canoe or drive it off its course, or in canoe construction, in which a faulty job will endanger lives, magic is used. Not only are the <u>io-io</u> offered, but there are other rituals performed as well. After the canoe is completed, and before it is painted, it is sailed inside the lagoon to find out whether and where it may leak, or be faulty in other respects. When it is brought back on land, one of the carpenters sits astride the canoe and recites certain set formulae while waving a coconut branch over it. These formulae assure the navigator that the canoe will be speedy, that it will not drift off its course when on a journey, and that it not be shattered.

This ritual is known as the gavaiven. I chanced to see Toromann, performing the ritual, and I asked Tom what it was. He became quite sheepish, and said, "I don't know, another place, another color," which means, for reasons I have never been able to understand, that every society has its own customs, which is a charming way of stating the position of cultural relativism. He proceeded to describe a ship-christening he had witnessed in Manila, which was, to his way of thinking, the western analogue to the Ifaluk custom.

Divination is employed in healing, as well as in predicting the weather. Divination, called tribw or bweng, is practiced by means of coconut strips, the configurations of knots in the strips being employed as predictive criteria.

One afternoon I saw Maroligar divining for a sick woman. I asked Tom what he was doing, and he replied that this was "katt"; that is, he was playing

cards. I did not press the issue any further, assuming that Tom was reluctant to speak about the matter, and made a note to ask him about it at a later time. It was entirely accidental that I later learned what he had meant. In the latter part of November, we had a few days of heavy wind that the people called a minor typhoon. Trees were blown down, the waves were coming on shore. Since there was little I could do, I spent a part of one afternoon playing "solitaire". While playing, Tom came to see how we were weathering the storm, and found me playing cards. Now previously Maroligar had seen Burrows playing, and after each hand Burrows would say, "good", or "bad", depending upon whether or not he had won, and Maroligar had interpreted this evaluation to mean that Burrows was divining. When Tom came that day, he told me that the people were very disturbed about the storm, and that he too was worried and would be unable to sleep that night. But he insisted that I finish my game so that I could tell him whether the storm would continue or would abate. Wishing to put his mind at rest, I told him that the storm would stop. He sighed with relief, and was most happy, because Maroligar's divining by means of the coconut strips had predicted the same thing.

With regard to the weather, however, its course is not only predicted, but it is also controlled. If the divination indicates continued storm, an incantation is recited which can control the weather. Only the navigators know the technique. He sits on one of the stone piers, and blows a conch horn. He then points it into the storm, and recites the appropriate verses. One of them follows:

Dark clouds, the horn!
My god-invoking horn!
My talk goes to the clouds like fire.

Don't come near, dark clouds! Stay far away! No more, no more, no more!

Turn aside, wind and cloud! Bad weather turn aside! Die away, Move away!

Depart bad weather!
Come good weather!
Fair and bright.
Let there be fine days!
Cloudless the sky.

There are also incantations to clear the weather, (involving the breaking of the rainbow, which they think causes the storm), to drive off rain, to bring a departing canoe safely home, to keep a canoe afloat. All are attempts to control the elements by magic--that is, by words and gestures. It should be noted that bad weather is not caused by a supernatural agency, but is conceived as an autonomous entity.

Included in the Ifaluk belief system are a number of taboos, the violation of which results in some undesirable consequence. As far as could be determined, the consequences of taboo violation in Ifaluk are automatic. The <u>alus</u> do not punish the people for taboo violation, though it was Aluelap who ordained all taboos with the exception of the incest taboos, which were ordained by Autran. It seems rather that some inherent causal relationship obtains between the taboo and its consequences. At any rate, none of the people attempted more than a feeble attempt at a rational explanation.

The native term for taboo is tabw. A number of taboos have already been referred to in the course of the text, and others will be described in the proper context. It is of methodological interest that if a native is asked to name as many taboos as he can, he will name two or three at the most, and no probing will aid him in recalling any others. For example, in discussing food habits, I asked the four men with whom I was speaking, whether Ifaluk observes fasts, and I received a negative reply. But that very afternoon, I observed that the men working on the hull of a canoe could not eat, as food was taboo.

In our entire stay only one taboo was discovered which involved the idea of holiness or sanctity per se, rather than being connected with some pragmatic activity. The plot of ground, known as Katelu, which belongs to the chiefs, and on which the fannap is located, is considered sacred ground; and one portion of it, directly behind our tent, is so sacred that no one may tread on it. The violation of this taboo results in rain and even in typhoons. We discovered this taboo purely accidentally. The trade winds had set in, but the rains, which usually cease with the onset of the Trades, continued to come. Both the people and the anthropologists were very surprised and the former were alarmed. One afternoon I observed the people moving an old over-water-head to the beach directly in front of our tent. When they had finished their work, Tom came to us and said that this little hut was to be for our use. We had been using part of Katelu as our private lavatory, and perhaps, he pointed out, that is why the rain continued, since it is taboo to walk on that ground, and the penalty for the violation of the taboo is rain.

That afternoon, I walked into our new lavatory, the rain stopped, and the sun appeared. The native view emerged triumphant! It is this kind of vindication, of course, if only once in a thousand times, that confirms the reality of the taboo for the people.

All the other taboos are concerned with illness, construction work, the food quest, particularly fishing, or with dangerous physiological processes, such as birth and menstruation. Since we have already dealt with those

taboos involved in illness, and shall describe the birth and menstrual taboos when we discuss these subjects, we shall only mention here the taboos and magic involved in economic activities.

When a canoe-house is repaired, there is a taboo on food until the end of the working-day. This fast is supposed to ensure the workers against being hit by falling beams. Furthermore anyone who is engaged in the construction of a new object may not participate in the repair of an old one. For example Tom could not assist in the repairs of his own canoe-house because he was currently engaged in the construction of a canoe. In undertaking these major repair or construction jobs the men wear strips of white coconut branches about their arms and ankles. These serve as talismans and protect them from falling beams and other forms of injury.

There are also some magical practices involved in canoe-construction. The men must fast on the day that they work on the keel. Furthermore, after the canoe is painted a fire is kept burning outside the canoe-house on four consecutive nights, during which the canoe is kept within the canoe-house. Failure to observe this practice would result in the inability to catch fish with that canoe since the fish would not enter the nets.

There are some magical practices connected with fishing. Men who participate in a communal fishing expedition may not have sexual intercourse the night preceeding the fishing, for if they did they would "stink", and Saulan, the god of the ocean, would cause them to become ill. Upon return from a fishing expedition the participants may neither work nor have sexual relations for three days. Should they violate this taboo they would be unsuccessful in future fishing. When the men return to the island with their catch it is taboo for small children and women to observe either the fishermen or their fish until the fish is unloaded on the beach and is distributed. If turtle eggs are discovered, the people of the district in which they are discovered may not take a light from the fire of another for four days. Certain species of fish may not be cooked in a pot, but may be cooked only over an open fire. If this taboo is violated, the fish of that species will not enter the lagoon in the future. During the three-month fishing period at the beginning of the prevailing Westerlies the sexes must be separated. The men live in the canoe-houses and may have neither social nor sexual intercourse with the women. This is a strict taboo, as its violation would result in dangerous and even fatal accidents to the fisherman.

Divine Possession

Though the <u>alusemar</u> live in the sky, some of them descend to earth, appear to a person, and possess him. These <u>alus</u> do not possess anyone indiscriminately, but possess mainly persons in their own matrilineal lineage. Hence, since the <u>alus</u> is inherited matrilineally, a man and his son have different <u>alus</u>. Each lineage house has more than one <u>alus</u>-Arogeligar said three or four-that are its special <u>alus</u>, and they function as parental-protectors and mentors of the lineage. The <u>alus</u> may possess any person in

the lineage, but he particularly possesses the walialus (literally, the canoe of alus), of which there is one in every lineage. The walialus is recognized by the frequency of his possession. The alus "come on top" the possessed person, and the latter is conceived of as a canoe which the alus rides.

The alus possesses the walialus for several reasons. He may be lonesome for his mortal kin, or he may wish to instruct them in moral matters. The lineage knows the names of its alus, as the latter tell their names to the walialus. These names are different from their earthly names, however, since they are given new names by Aluelap when they ascend to the sky. Whether the possessee recognizes the exact kinship relationship of the alus is not clear. Some say that the alus informs the possessee of his name, but not of his relationship. Others, including Arogeligar, say that he reveals his exact relationship. In the pigin English of Tom, the alus descends on a person, and asks: "you savvy me?" If the person does not recognize him, the alus says, "I your father," or whatever the relationship may be. He then tells him, "No do bad, no talk bad (against) alus and people. You make good. By'm by you have sick, I give you medicine."

This last phrase, "I give you medicine" is the most important function of these alus. As we have already observed, the alusengau causes disease, and it is the alusemar that provide the medicine to cure the victim. Aside from acting as the benevolent patron of the lineage, the sole function of the

alusemar is to cure the ill.

Possession is called alusemar bwuter, or "the benvolent alus has arrived." It is marked by a kind of convulsive seizure, called zagogo or xato alus, in which there seems to be a high degree of dissociation, which may last for quite a long time.

Possession can occur in both men and women. It is a relatively infrequent phenomenon, however, and occurs only at night. In our seven month stay on Ifaluk, there were only several possessions. Almost invariably, the person possessed, or some other member of his household, or perhaps Arogeligar, announces the possession by blowing shrill blasts on a whistle (obtained from the Japanese and Americans). At the sound of the whistle other people may assemble in the courtyard of the one possessed. At other times, the possession may become infectious so that others become possessed, in a minor sense. They become "happy" and the entire group joins in the singing of a gapeng, a religious song or hymn, and then the young men may walk through the village singing.

The explanation of the phenomenon of possession is still not clear, but we can point to two relevant factors, cultural and physiological. The few possessions that we witnessed followed immediately upon a major religious ceremony: their occurence at that time, therefore, was no "accident". The influence of the ceremony, at which the alus are invoked, undoubtedly act as a strong stimulus, in which suggestion plays a major role. Secondly, possession occurs only at night, after the people have consumed large quantities of toddy. Toddy, particularly the fermented variety, is a strong

stimulant, and induces a state of mind corresponding to what we call being "high". The persons possessed are "high", and are very obviously under the influence of toddy.

In contrast to the general infrequency of possession among the rest of the population is the frequency with which Arogeligar is possessed. Unfortunately, we did not record the number of times he was possessed, but hardly a week passed without his being possessed at least once. And, invariably, he would blow blasts on his whistle and walk through the village hoping to induce others to follow him. Often these possessions occured late at night after most people were asleep. Unlike others who are possessed by the alusesalup, Arogeligar is possessed by an alusiang, the Ifaluk patron deity, Tilitr. This possession is known as abouter alusuelaush, or, "our father has come."

We may now look at two cases of possession that we witnessed. The first happened two nights after a two day religious ceremony. We were sitting in our tents when we heard singing and the shrill blows of a whistle. When we arrived at the house next to our tent, the inhabitants were seated in the courtyard, singing what was obviously a gapeng. But this in itself did not indicate a possession, since the singing of gapeng in the evening is not at all unusual. We were then attracted by much louder singing proceeding from another house much further from our tent. When we arrived, there were about twenty people seated in front of the house, singing a gapeng, and a few showed minor degrees of possession by the strange, yet euphoric, smiles on their faces, as well as by the quality of the singing and by the movement of their arms and bodies. Arogeligar was leading the singing, and was obviously "high". Normally he would greet us with a smile, and with the native greeting of mauwar. That night, however--and indeed on all nights that he was possessed --he greeted us in a shrill voice with a "good morning" -- one of the English phrases he had learned--accompanied by a sharp jerk of his arm in our direction. He then offered us each a flower wreath. It was evident he had been possessed before we had arrived, and had already come out of the possession, though he was still influenced by it. This impression was later confirmed by Talimeira, who said that the alus had come to Arogeligar. After half an hour of singing, Arogeligar announced that he was going to the home of Paliuilimar, the third ranking chief, and invited us to accompany him. The women remained behind, and he was accompanied by the young men, all singing as they walked up the path, whilst he was blowing his whistle. Talimeira had just been possessed, too, as he informed me the next day. At Paliuilimar's there was more singing and, at Arogeligar's request, Paliuilimar placed tobacco on the shrine in his courtyard. After about twenty minutes, the entire group left Paliuilimar to go to Tom's house. Arogeligar asked Tom to tell us that he and the boys were going to continue their walking through the woods, and that it would be better if we returned which, of course, we did. Singing and whistling continued late into the night.

The next day Talimeira informed us that a woman had been bathing in the channel between Falarik and Falalap in the early evening, and an alusengau H

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had frightened her by throwing stones at her and by rustling the water. It was at the same time that Arogeligar was possessed, and he frightened the alusengau, so that it had departed.

The second possession we observed occurred in a nearby house. When we heard the singing of gapeng we went to investigate. Arogeligar was just leaving the courtyard of the house, as we approached. This time he recited his "good morning" again, but instead of jerking his arm as a form of greeting he seized the hand of Burrows and kissed it.

As we came to the house, we saw the members of the family seated, singing a gapeng, but we could not make out their movements, since it was a coal-black night. When we sat down the husband of one of the women of the house brought us a mat and a small fire, and explained that the <u>alus</u> had arrived.

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With the aid of the light, we could now perceive the two women, Levagoman and Tavelear, who were seated in front of the doorway, and the other members of the household, who were seated in the courtyard. The former is a widow, in her late thirties. The latter, her "sister", is a very attractive woman in her early thirties, whose husband, whom she had not seen for a year, had just returned from Woleai the previous day. Tavelear was obviously possessed. She was singing the gapeng in a tremulous voice, with a pronounced treble, clapping her thighs to the rhythm of the music, and intermittently breaking into laughter and hysterical giggles. Her voice was quite hoarse, and at times was scarcely audible, so that she would sing in a falsetto. Throughout the possession she was strangely gay and "happy". There seems little doubt but that her behavior was hysterical. I had known her very well, having spent much time in her house observing her baby, and it was difficult to realize that this was Tavelear. Normally she is quiet, taciturn, not given to exaggerated movements of any kind. The contrast was glaring. This hysterical seizure lasted about fifteen minutes, after which she snapped out of it, singing along with the rest in her normal voice, and patently exhausted.

It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for her possession. Her husband had just returned the day before from Woleai, where he had been living quite a long time. She had a suckling baby that could not yet walk, and sexual intercourse is prohibited until the baby can walk. Now Tavelear has the reputation of being a sensuous woman, and Tom often remarked how difficult it had been to satisfy her, sexually, when he had had an affair with her. Her husband had returned, she had been with him for two days, and could not yet have intercourse, which for her constituted a severe frustration. Her aroused sexual feelings, that could not find a normal expression, were "converted" or canalized into the hysterical seizure. This, of course, is in agreement with the psychoanalytic interpretation of conversion hysteria in general.

The dance she performed during the seizure lends credence to this interpretation. It was a most sensuous dance--her hips and thighs rolling and swaying to the weaving of her arms, in perfect sensuous rhythm.

The Priest

The person who has figured so prominently in these ceremonies is Arogeligar. He is the tamon alusuia, literally, "the leader for (matters concerning) the alus". The tamon alusuia is the religio-medical specialist, but like the other specialists he devotes only part of his time to his specialty, since he assumes the same economic responsibilities as the other men. office of tamon alusuia is inherited patrilineally, it being passed on from the incumbent to any male relative in his patrilineal line. Arogeligar, for example, succeeded his father's brother to the office. But descent is not a sufficient qualification for this office; a successor in a state of possession must be designated by Tilitr for the office. The incumbent appoints a male relative as his successor upon the latter's request, and instructs him in the lore and knowledge of the position. At the death of the tamon, his designated successor seeks possession or a vision, not unlike the Plains Indian vision. Arogeligar, for example, brought Tilitr gifts of food and flowers to his shrine. He ate and slept little, if at all, and asked Tilitr to appear to him. Finally Tilitr did appear, in late afternoon, and Arogeligar remained possessed for four days. Tilitr appeared in the form of a man, rested heavily on Arogeligar's shoulders, and spoke to him in the Ifaluk tongue. Tilitr taught him how to call upon him for medicine, and he instructed him to "look out good this place, the people and the chief for this place. If you don't, you very bad man." This experience, then, made Ar ogeligar a full-fledged tamon alusuia.

Since that initial possession, Tilitr has possessed Arogeligar many times, either to inform him of an impending event, as when he told him of the future American victory over the Japanese, or to give him medicine; that is, to inform him what kind of medicine to employ in a certain illness. For after Arogeligar diagnoses an illness, he goes to Bwuter Tilitr and asks Tilitr if he should apply medicine to the patient and, if so, what kind. Tilitr then answers him, instructing him how to obtain the medicine. Arogeligar informed me that he is usually possessed at least twice a week, and sometimes more often. When Arogeligar talks to Tilitr, asking for medicine, his request has the same "name" as a conversation with a mortal, "meliali". There is no term corresponding to our term "prayer", for there really is no concept of prayer. When Tilitr possesses Arogeligar, he uses him as the mouth-piece through which he speaks, so that it is Tilitr and not Arogeligar who is speaking. This is called arhazimal le Tilitr.

Unlike the other people who are possessed only by the alus of their lineage, Arogeligar is possessed only by Tilitr and by Tilikong, an alus who does the bidding of Tilitr. The tamon alusuia assumes the name of an alus when he takes office. Arogeligar's name is Tilievo. His successor has chosen the name Talevearo.

It is apparent that though the possession and induction into the office of tamon alusuia involves a personal, psychological experience, it is one that is completely culturally patterned. Only certain individuals can inherit the office and since they prepare for it by formal training and by psychological conditioning, it is not strange that the sought-for vision should materialize.

The incumbent in the office trains not only his successor, but also a number of other persons who act as minor functionaries in the public ceremonies and in the curing ceremonies. Arogeligar, for example, is now training twenty-three individuals, ten males, and thirteen females. These assistants gather herbs for medicine, assist in the public ceremonies and, at times, when Arogeligar finds that a victim is possessed by a very powerful alus, so that his own medicine is not adequate to exorcise the alus, he asks them to bring medicine.

When Arogeligar is called upon to heal a patient, it is with the understanding that he is to be paid only if his healing is successful, but that he receives nothing if the victim should die. His payment consists of lavalava or rope, but there is no stipulated payment.

The tamon alusuia not only receives payment for healing, he also receives payment for teaching his gapeng to his assistants. This does not imply personal ownership in these gapeng. When questioned on this point, Arogeligar was firm in insisting that the songs were owned by Tilitr and not by him, and that the payment he receives is for his time, so that he is given approximately the amount of rope or fish or cloths that might have been produced in the time devoted to the instruction.

Ethics: It is apparent from this discussion that ethics plays a minimal role in the Ifaluk religion. This is not to say that the Ifaluk have no conceptions of the good life or that they are not concerned with questions of morality. The very opposite is closer to the truth. This is a society which is deeply concerned with problems of social and personal morality, and which exemplifies in its behavior a high degree of cooperation and mutual aid, and the barest minimum of aggression. The fact is, however, that religion and ethics are not intimately related as they are in the Western religions. Ethics, in Ifaluk, is not based on supernatural sanctions. Its sanctions and interpretation are entirely naturalistic. Hence, though the priest may exhort the people to be good, the chiefs, rather than the priest, are the officials charged with teaching morality and with providing the dynamics for its implementation.*

^{*} For a detailed account of the Ifaluk ethos of non-aggression, and of the role of the chiefs as ethical leaders, see <u>The Problem of Aggression in a South Sea Culture</u> (PhD. Dissertation), by Melford E. Spiro.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

Physiological paternity, though vague and ill-defined, is recognized in Ifaluk. Pregnancy is the resultant of two causes--sexual intercourse and the intervention of Aluelap, the chief of the high gods. If the couple are fond of each other ("like too much"), Aluelap will intervene when the semen enters the womb, and he will "give baby". On the other hand, if the couple have no affection for each other, then despite sexual intercourse, and despite the fact that the semen may enter the womb, the woman will not become pregnant because Aluelap will not intervene. Thus we see that sexual intercourse is a necessary, but not a sufficient cause of pregnancy. That sexual intercourse is necessary in native birth theory, however, seems fairly well-established. Every adult with whom I spoke maintained that without intercourse there could be no pregnancy. The additional factor--the intervention of Aluelap-helps explain why some women are barren, or why not every act of intercourse results in pregnancy. It further explains why a casual relationship does not result in conception, for any non-institutionalized sexual relationship--either in marriage or in the institution known as the gomwar* will not produce children, because Aluelap will not intervene.

With the birth of the first child, however, another factor appears that may effect any future pregnancy. If the parents had mistreated their first child or had not satisfied its needs, Aluelap deems them incapable of raising

children, and will not grant them additional offspring.

Aside from the offspring of incestuous unions, there is no native concept of illegitimacy. The children of unmarried lovers are evaluated no differently from those of married couples. The people point out that they desire babies, that they love them, that they are necessary to replenish the population, so what difference does it make whether a baby is born to a married couple or to lovers? Thus the name for an infant--sauwau for a girl or ligau for a boyis applied to all infants, whether the parents be married or unmarried.

It is expected, however, that a man will marry his lover should she become pregnant. This is not compulsory, but should he refuse he would be

scorned and called a "very bad man" by all the people.

Assuming that Aluelap is favorably disposed, conception occurs when the semen mixes with the mother's blood, the foetus being thought of as a mass of water and blood. By the end of the third month the head is formed, and soon after the body begins to assume shape. The people recognize a nine month pregnancy, and could remember no case of a premature birth. Since a two month cease of the menstrual flow is taken as a sign of pregnancy, it is a simple matter for them to know of the nine month period of gestation.

^{*} See below, pp. 291-292.

Babies are preeminently desired, probably more than any other single thing, so that a couple that does not have children is greatly pitied. But it is not only pity, but sadness which the people feel towards a barren woman (ulut)--"all people very sad, for no have baby, by mby no more people".

Babies are desired both for themselves, and as a form of old age insurance. The great love people have for babies may be seen, first of all, in the attention with which they are showered. Babies are constantly being handled, kissed, hugged and played with. The people have an inordinate desire to fondle babies, and babies are always the center of attention and of attraction in every home and in every gathering. Babies are wanted, therefore, because of the pleasure they afford. Caring for the baby is never considered a bother or a chore. I have never seen a mother or any other person express resentment over, or anger towards, a baby because of the care and attention she must give it. The adult's care of the infant is a labor of love, and we might even question the very use of the term "labor". I have never heard a mother complain of the restrictions on her behavior caused by her infant. A baby knows only smiling and laughing faces, soft arms and soft words. No baby is ever handled roughly, no baby is scowled at or spoken to with bitterness.

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This great love of infants and the ardent desire to have babies may account for the relative absence of psychosomatic disturbances on the part of the pregnant mother. Neither my informants nor my direct questioning of pregnant women revealed any unpleasant physiological disturbances attendant upon pregnancy--not even feelings of nausea.

But adults want children not only because of their great love for infants, but also for a very practical reason--as providers for their old age. "Suppose baby he grow up, he take fish, chow, coconut, he give mama and papa."

The parents observe few taboos during pregnancy. They may not cut their hair, nor can they eat any food cooked over a fire made of driftwood. The husband may not begin a canoe during his wife's pregnancy. It these taboos were violated, the parents would become ill. Sexual intercourse is forbidden for the first three months of pregnancy, after which time it is desirable. The reason for this differentiation is that for the first three months the baby is but blood and water, and should the parents have intercourse they would destroy this fluid, which is the future infant. After the third month the embryo begins to be formed, and intercourse can no longer harm it. On the contrary, intercourse serves to expand the walls of the vagina, thus expediting the delivery.

The same logic applies to the relative amount of work performed by a pregnant woman. For the first seven months she performs only light labor, because the embryo is weak. But in the last two months, she works hard, working even in the taro patches, as it is believed that manual activity will facilitate a rapid delivery.

Contraceptives are unknown, and if they were known, they probably would not be used, since babies are so greatly desired.

It is during the period of gestation that the foetus acquires its soul or (ngas). It is the ngas that differentiates the dead from the living, so that before the entrance of the ngas, the embryo is not yet alive, and when it departs the person dies. The ngas, whose size is unknown, resides in the "stomach", and is conceived of as a vaporous substance, ("all same wind"). But its actual formation and derivation is a matter of speculation. Arogeligar, the priest, maintained that Aluelap gives the embryo its ngas in the eighth month of pregnancy. Others said that the soul enters the embryo through the umbilical cord, thus deriving from the mother, which would explain matrilineal descent. The chiefs, on the other hand, maintained that the soul evolves in the baby in the course of its development, like any other organ, though the nature and time of its growth is unknown.

The foetus not only receives its ngas during the period of gestation, it also receives its blood. Both blood (tra) and food, which the foetus requires to keep alive, are received by means of the umbilicus. Blood is necessary for life. If a person has much blood, he will be strong; if he has little, he

will be weak; and if he has none, he will die.

But though the foetus receives its blood from its mother, all questions concerning "blood relationship" elicited negative replies. All blood is the same, there being no differences between individuals or people, and the concept of relationship through blood is completely foreign to them.

It is possible that matrilineal descent is related to the belief that the infant receives his blood from his mother. But questions of this kind, as well as other similar questions sent my informants into peals of laughter. How should they, or anyone else, know the answers to these questions, and who but an idiot would bother about them? Auelimar, one of my best informants, expressed the concensus of the group when he exclaimed, "Who can savvy that?"

The people claim to be able to determine the sex of the embryo. If the mother has a craving for coconut water, and if she feels the embryo moving in the womb, the embryo is male. If, on the other hand, she has no craving for coconut water, and if the embryo's movement is slight, it is female.

The people seem to prefer female babies over male. At first my informants said that there was no preference, but they later qualified this equality by saying that "boy more down", expressing relative value in spatial terms, as they are wont to do. They all agreed that "boy more down" because females can have babies and males cannot. When discussing the relative prestige of men and women the same response was given by still other informants. Women are more important than men because they can bear children. This emphasizes, again, the great importance and value of children.

One could question the people's actual knowledge of physiological paternity from this statement, for though it is true that only women bear the children, they seem to completely overlook the role of the male in procreation. In a discussion of the relative status of the sexes with still other informants, I pointed out that the child-bearing role of women is paralleled, by their own

theories, by the procreative powers of the men. They all looked surprised, as if the thought had not occurred to them, and finally Arogeirox exclaimed, "You talk true," and they then changed their evaluation, and said that men are more important. The next day, my informants returned to this point, and praised me for my--to them--very acute observation.

But this disregard of the man's role in procreation in the context of this situation is not the only reason that leads one to question their fundamental knowledge of physiological paternity. In the mythology Legobwub, the primordial goddess, is purported to have given birth to three children, without having a male consort. This "virgin birth" is not interpreted as a miracle, a prerogative of the supernaturals, but is accepted, without questions, as a natural state of affairs. It is possible, of course, that their knowledge of physiological paternity had been borrowed since contact, and has not become entirely integrated into the indigenous belief.

When a mother first begins to feel labor pains she retires to a house in Falalap, called <u>Weluar</u>, which is close to the birth-hut, Imwelipen. Imwelipen is the only birth-hut in Ifaluk. It is strictly tabooed to any male, who may not walk within 50 feet of it. Should he violate this taboo, all food would rot, and a famine would ensue.

When the pains become acute the woman goes to Imwelipenitself, accompanied by her mother and mother's sister. A fire is lit in the hut, which is not allowed to subside for the duration of their stay. If she is still in labor at night her relatives and the relatives of her husband hold a sial for her. That is, they assemble in Weluar, where they remain awake all night, keeping watch over her, and offering her herbs to drink should the birth be difficult.

When the labor pangs indicate that the baby is about to be born, the mother kneels on a mat, extracts the baby by herself, and catches it in her arms when it emerges. The length of labor varies considerably, but it was impossible to receive any estimate of the time, other than the general statement that "some very quick, and some very slow". Though the mother is accompanied by her own mother and her mother's sister, the latter two do not serve as midwives, except in the event of a difficult delivery, in which case they will extract the baby from the womb. Ordinarily, however, the mother delivers her own baby. She is, moreover, not to indicate her pain by vocal manifestations. Should she cry out, she would shame both her mother and herself.

After the baby is born the mother's mother holds it in her arms until the afterbirth (bei) is discharged. She then severs the umbilical cord (buch) with a small ocean shell, wraps it in a new lavalava cloth, and buries it at the side of Imwelipen. The afterbirth is disposed of in the same fashion. Should either not be buried, and should the mother see them, she would become ill.

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The small shell used to cut the umbilicus is called a giligin. It is very tiny and white, and is sought by the mother in her ninth month. She keeps it in her basket containing lavalava thread until she retires to the birth-hut.

Again, this is interesting in terms of the selective nature of the acculturative process. The natives have many knives of different size, which they esteem very highly, and use for many purposes, but in the <u>rite du passage</u> of birth, which is an act of danger, the use of the shell is retained. Apparently it is dangerous to tempt the fates, even at the expense of greater efficiency.

Should the baby be born before the mother can get to Imwelipen, the mother proceeds there immediately following the birth. Should she remain

in her own home with the baby, all vegetation would die.

Still-births occur, though I could obtain no information on their frequency. In the event of a still-birth the mother's mother will massage the head, arms, and legs of the baby, and this may vivify him. If this is of no avail, it is wrapped in a lavalava, tied with a fishline, and after brief wailing by the family, it is buried at the side of the birth-hut. The reason for burying it on land, rather than in the ocean, as is the practice with adults, is that the newborn is "no people, only something"; that is, it is viewed as a non-human object.

Twins (nipwe) occur, though infrequently. At present there is one pair of twins--two middle aged women. Triplets have never occurred and the natives were amazed to learn that they do occur in other societies. There is no magical idea associated with twins, though if one should die, the other is killed.

After the burial of the afterbirth, women of her own and of her husband's family bring the mother food consisting of coconuts, taro, and breadfruit. While she is eating her mother takes the baby to the ocean to wash it. This must be done whether the weather and the ocean be warm or chilly. When she returns she feeds the baby some water, followed by some ripe coconut oil. This is the infant's first feeding. The baby is then handed to its mother who gives it the breast, more as a gesture than as a source of nourishment, for as yet she has no milk, and usually has none until the fourth day.

The baby is then, for the first time, allowed to rest. It is placed in its "bed" (giagi), a pandanus mat placed on the floor, over which is placed some cloth, either the cotton cloth introduced by the Japanese, or the native cloth. The baby itself is wrapped in cloth, as a kind of diaper, and is then covered completely with another cloth. This last "blanket" is always used regardless of how hot the weather may be. The purpose of this custom is to facilitate perspiration, for it is believed that if the infant does not perspire freely, its growth will be retarded. When the baby soils itself, the diaper is replaced with a clean one, and excrements are carried to the ocean, and the soiled diaper is washed.

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The infant and mother remain in Imwelipen for ten days after the birth. During that time much of her behavior and treatment of the baby are institutionalized. The mother and her attendant (her mother, mother's sister, or husband's mother) take the baby to the channel between the two islands to be washed three times a day--morning, noon, and afternoon. It is not washed in the evening lest an alusengau make it sick. For the first four days after

birth the infant is fed water and coconut oil, and whatever milk the mother may have. The infant is fed whenever it cries and at any other time that its mother and her attendant think advisable. If the infant should sleep for an extended period, the mother will wake it in order to feed it. On the fifth day, the mother's milk is usually sufficient, and the breast replaces the coconut oil. But the feeding follows the same pattern--first, water is given the infant, and then the breast. Again, it is fed whenever it cries, and whenever its mother sees that its stomach is flat or not swollen. If its stomach is swollen, it is assumed that it is not hungry. What must be stressed is the constant attention the infant receives. The mother and her attendant are at the constant service of the baby. One of them is always awake while the other sleeps so that the infant's wants may be immediately satisfied.

While the mother and infant are confined to the birth-hut, her family and that of her husband are busy. The men of both families go fishing every day, and their women-folk bring the fish to the mother. It is believed that the eating of much fish will cause the mother's milk to flow in abundance.

No male may go near the birth-hut-neither her husband, son, brother, or stranger. When the mother takes her infant to the channel to be washed, the male relatives may stand on the other side of the channel and thus catch a glimpse of the baby. Any woman, however, is allowed free access to the birth-hut, and they bring the mother her food. Even they, however, cannot handle the baby, this privilege being restricted to the mother and her attendant. Nor can these women remain in Imwelipen overnight. They must return to their own homes to sleep.

Besides providing his wife with fish, the infant's father has one additional responsibility. He must construct a cradle (ulol) for the infant. The ulol has four sides made of wood which are fastened together at the bottom with plaited rope. This rope forms the bottom of the cradle, on which the baby lies. Rope is then attached to the four corners of the cradle so that it may be attached to the rafters of the house; and when it is suspended from the rafters, it can be rocked or swung. When the baby is brought home, a pandanus mat is placed in the cradle and the baby is placed on the mat, and then covered with cloth.

At the end of the ten-day confinement, the baby is brought home, at which time there is a minor celebration. The baby and mother leave for home at dawn, accompanied by her female relatives. The latter also bring food that they had previously prepared, and they gather in the house of the mother, where they eat. Men are not allowed in the house at this time, though the taboo is not too severe, because I was permitted to enter. The women sit quietly, conversing in subdued tones, offering suggestions to the mother, but otherwise remaining inactive and contained, which is very unusual behavior for them. The mother and infant are the centers of attraction, and all eyes are on them.

The mother sits on a pandanus sleeping mat, and does not leave the mat except when she retires to the lagoon for her daily bath and the performance

of her natural functions. The baby lies on a small pandanus mat which, in turn, is placed on a large coconut mat. The baby wears swaddling clothes of cloth, and when he sleeps he is covered with a very stiff cloth. The latter also serves as a head rest when the mother nurses him, so that his head does not fall back. Covering the cloth is a small pandanus mat. and this is covered with a blanket, which completely covers the infant. Breathing under these conditions is probably difficult, but these coverings facilitate the infant's perspiring, which is deemed of such great importance, as we have already noted.

At the baby's head a fire is kept burning. A small pit is dug in the house prior to the mother's return in which is buried a bonito head, and on top of this pit burns the fire for the duration of the mother's confinement. The purpose of this fire is to prevent the infant from becoming ill. The fire is sacred and may not be used for any secular or profane purpose, except by the mother and her attendant. My attempt to light a cigarette from one of its embers elicited a chorus of sharp "E tabw!" The women remain with the mother till the end of the day, after which they return home, and the mother and child are left to themselves, except for the usual amount of daily visiting.

The father is not yet allowed to enter the house, and it is only at the end of the first day that he may do so. However, neither he nor any other person, male or female, may touch the baby or even approach it beyond the mat on which it lies. To do so is strictly taboo. On the fifth day, the father is allowed to hold the infant, but he may not yet pick it up by itself, since he cannot approach its mat until the end of the mother's confinement. The mother must hand him the infant, if she grants him permission to hold it. Should he take the infant himself, the baby would become ill. At the end of the mother's three month confinement, she prepares a new mat and only after the old one is discarded, can the baby be approached directly.*

Though the father sleeps in the house with his wife after the second day of her return, sexual intercourse between them is strictly taboo for two rag (approximately one astronomical year). Violation of the taboo, it is believed, will result in the baby's death. Though it is difficult to make direct checks on the observance of this taboo, there is indirect evidence which seems to indicate that it is observed. In the first place there are no infants whose next-oldest siblings are within an age period that would indicate conception within the tabooed period. Secondly, during the period of our study, at least two fathers left the island after the birth of their child, and they may well have been motivated by the desire to avoid temptation. Finally, the incidence of infant mortality is sufficiently great that few would wish to risk the imputation of having killed their child by lack of sexual restraint.

^{*} This avoidance taboo is very interesting in light of the theories of paternal and sibling hostility towards the new-born. Both paternal and sibling hatred are shorn of the possibility of overt expression by this taboo. One can also interpret the exclusion of the father from the birth-hut in the same manner.

The mother and her attendant are confined to their home for three months. They are in constant attendance upon the infant, and may leave the house only for purposes of bathing and excretion. One of them must always remain in the house when the other leaves. The mother is not permitted to do any work that may distract her attention from her baby, so that the only activity permitted her is making of lavalavas.

Except for this constant attention to the child, which monopolizes her time, there seems to be little indication of differential status or role assigned to the new mother. I discovered only one indication of a change in behavior. While talking with a group of people one evening I had passed cigarettes around the group, lit the cigarette of one of the women and, having no other matches, used her cigarette to light the others. Tom refused to take a light, explaining that the woman had just had a baby, and that if he, a captain, should make use of her fire (of any kind), he would drift off his course while on an ocean voyage.

After the first day at home, the infant may be placed either in the ulol, or on its bed-mat the giegi. At night, however, it always sleeps on its mat between its parents. This is to protect it from the alusengau, since infants are most vulnerable to their attacks. If an alus wishes to give it sickness, the infant is protected by its parents on either side so that one of them rather than the infant, will become ill.

The baby sleeps often during the day, and while it sleeps the members of the household make no attempt to modulate their voices, or to control the obstreperousness of the children. The children come into the house, shouting and laughing, and usually the baby will sleep through it all. Even if he should be wakened by the noise, the women do not attempt to inhibit the shouting and play of the children.

During this early infancy, infants seldom cry, there being but two occasions which evoke a crying response. Since it is believed that an infant who lies still in its cradle without moving will not grow, and that it is particularly bad for the infant to lie on its stomach but good to lie on its side, a mother constantly watches her infant to see that it moves or does not lie on its stomach. If it does not move or does lie on its stomach, she will turn him on its side, and this occurs not infrequently. This often elicits a crying response from the infant. Its mother attempts to alleviate the distress by giving the baby her breast, and usually this attempt is successful.

The occasion for greatest crying is the daily morning bath. As we have seen, the infant is first washed in the channel at birth by its mother's attendant. After this initial washing both the mother and her attendant, together, wash the infant until the end of its second month. It is washed three times a day--morning, noon, and afternoon. It is the morning bath in particular that elicits the crying response, for obvious reasons. In the early dawn, when the infant is washed, the lagoon is cold. The infant is usually wakened from its sleep, taken from its warm "bed", in which it is covered with many cloths and a blanket, and is suddenly immersed in the water of the lagoon.

with only its head above water. The result is always bitter crying and screaming by the infant, and indeed this experience may be near-traumatic for him After the infant is bathed its mother nurses it, while remaining standing in the lagoon. The infant's screaming has been dissipated by this time, and the breast seems to be very welcome.

The people are not unaware of the pain this bathing ritual inflicts on the infant. But the mothers explain it by the refrain of <u>musuwe</u>, <u>musuwe</u>--

this is our custom. (literally "before, before")

Feeding at home is, at first, like the feeding in the birth-hut. The nourishment consists of breast-milk and water, the latter always preceding the former. But the water is more than water; it is medicine as well. That is, the water-feeder is a sack-like piece of coconut bark, in which is wrapped the leaves of the angorlk, and it is called walewa. The walewa is immersed in a coconut shell containing water, and when the mother gives the water to her infant, she squeezes the walewa, which has absorbed the water, into the infant's mouth. Often this practice is disturbing to the baby because the flow of water cannot be readily controlled, and I have seen many babies gagging on an overflow. Furthermore, if the infant is genuinely thirsty, he is frustrated by his own inability to swallow the water as rapidly as it streams into his mouth, so that he gasps and gurgles and chokes while trying to swallow.

As is the practice in the birth-hut, the infant is fed at home, too, whenever it cries or whenever it turns, and at other times that its mother deems advisable. My informants said that after the mother and child return from the birth-hut, the infant is not wakened to be fed. Observations made on infants did not confirm this statement, however. For at least the first month after her return to her home the mother feeds the infant often, and often wakes it in order to do so. She wakes it by pouring a stream of water into its mouth. If this water does not arouse the baby, the mother eases her nipple into its mouth and this almost always induces the sucking reflex. The infant sucks on the nipple, though to all appearances it is sleeping.

The breast serves not only as a source of nourishment, but as a pacifier as well. That this is so is indicated by the almost reflexive turn of the child to the mother's breast in time of distress. When I first made my appearance on the island, and the babies were still frightened of me, many would either clutch at their mother's breasts, or else place a breast in their mouths.

It is of interest to observe that despite this free-feeding children suck their thumbs, though it has been claimed by many observers that in cultures in which there is no oral frustration and in which the breast is always available, children will not suck their thumbs. The great majority of Ifaluk children, those who have been weaned as well as those who are still being suckled, are thumb-suckers. Some mothers discourage thumb-sucking on the ground that it weakens the thumb and deadens the child's appetite; others are unconcerned by it. Ifaluk thumb-sucking may be explained if we view thumb-sucking not only as a function of oral frustration, but also as a simple

satisfaction of the sucking reflex, or, in older children, as regression to the oral level of mastery. The latter interpretation particularly applies to Ifaluk for the older child is relatively neglected and the thumb-sucking may represent a symbolic return to the security and emotional gratification experienced by the nursing infant.

When the mother feeds her baby, she holds it in her arms, and returns it to its cradle when it is finished. Much care is taken to support the infant so that its head does not fall back. In the early months a stiff cloth is used as a support to its head from falling back. Later the cloth is discarded, but the mother supports the infant's head with her hand. This support continues whenever the baby is held, until it begins to crawl.

Only the mother may feed the baby during the first three months, but if she dies, a wet nurse is found. On the other hand if the mother's milk is scarce, coconut juice is added to the diet, but the wet nurse is not employed.

Besides water and milk a special medicine is fed the infant twice a day
--morning and night--for the first three months. This medicine is a concoction of water in which are mixed the leaves of the rages, kalua, and karabwan
trees. This medicine is believed to make the baby's "stomach very fine,".

In its third month, the infant's diet is increased and, in a sense, this is the beginning of its wearing, though the people do not view it as such. The mother begins to give the infant taro and fish, which she first masticates and then introduces into the infant's mouth with her fingers. At this time, also, the infant is introduced to the palm-toddy. Only fresh toddy, immediately collected, is used for this purpose, and even this mild beverage is diluted with water before it is given to the baby. If the infant does not like solid food, it is not forced to eat, but its mother will continue to offer it these foods at frequent intervals until it gets to like them.

However, the breast is still given the child even to the age of three or four. Should the child desire the breast after that age, the mother prevents him from suckling by shaming him and by telling him that the other children will laugh at him. Should the mother bear a new baby, however, the child is immediately deprived of the breast for the women claim that the mothers do not have enough milk for two sucklings. The advent of a new baby, then, may be the cause of decided oral frustration for the older sibling. This oral deprivation is unquestionably one cause of the sibling rivalry that is apparent in all stages of the child's development.

At the completion of the weaning, the child eats the same food as the adults. Eating problems do occur, however, and the parents are indulgent with the child. If he does not care for the food already prepared, they will attempt to give him other food. If nothing appeals to him, he is considered to be ill and medicine is prepared for him.

As we have already observed, the infant is constantly and continuously watched over by both its mother and her attendant for the first two months. If it cries, it is picked up, nursed, rocked in their arms, or rocked in the cradle. After this two month period, there is no restriction on the people

who can attend to its needs, so that its father, siblings, or any stranger may pick it up, rock it, or attempt to cajole it if it cries. However, no lullabies are sung to it, nor is baby-talk employed with it.

From the earliest age the infant is exposed to the faces and arms of many people. To the westerner the amount of handling the infant receives is almost fantastic. Particularly after it begins to crawl, the infant is never allowed to remain in the arms of one person. In the course of a half hour conversation the baby might change hands ten times, being passed from one person to another. This transfering of the infant from person to person is not due to fatigue, but to the people's love to fondle babies and to play with them. This means, of course, that the baby gets to know the faces of many people, and learns to appreciate the love and protection that an adult can and does give it, be he a relative or stranger. This intimacy of contact with strangers at an early age serves both to establish a freedom of relationship with nonrelatives at a later age, as well as to increase the uneasiness the babies might normally have towards strangers. Every person in its district, at least, is part of the infant's in-group and is known to him from earliest infancy. The stranger, therefore, is really a stranger, whose behavior is entirely unpredictable, since he is entirely unknown. With few exceptions the young children were very shy and, in many cases, afraid of me for a long time, until they came to know me. And the candy I gave to every child I met was not a minor factor in establishing initial rapport with the children.

A universal feature in the handling of babies is the practice of smelling the baby before picking it up. Whether the mother picks the baby from its cradle, or a "stranger" takes the baby from the arms of another, she will first place her face in its belly and its genitals, nuzzling the baby, and smelling it long and deeply. The same behavior is manifested when the baby is put back into its cradle. The reason for this behavior can be no more "explained" than can the reason for the Western practice of kissing babies. It is a sign of affection and both the form (smelling) and the region (genitals) are culturally determined. It should be remarked here that the olfactory sense is very important in this culture. The people love highly scented odors, such as perfume, and abominate any offensive odor. ("It stink too much.")*

The infant wears swaddling clothes until it has learned to crawl. When an adult holds an infant on his lap, he usually holds the cloth under the infant so that he should not be soiled should the infant choose to defecate or urinate. This precaution is necessary because sphincter control is not taught the child until it can walk and talk; that is, not until he can understand the demand, and has mastered the motor behavior to carry it out. The infant's

^{*} Olfactory values, of course, are in part universal and in part culturally conditioned. As a whole the Ifaluk and I agreed on those odors we considered offensive. There were two exceptions. Their preserved breadfruit emitted a rancid odor that I found very repugnant, whereas our mild American cheese repelled the Ifaluk.

faeces are disposed of in the lagoon, whereas its urine is merely wiped up. Not only is there no attempt made to toilet-train the infant, but the adult's do not convey to the infant by means of facial expressions or gestures any exaggerated abhorrence for excrement. Adults themselves, however, are ashamed of excretory processes, but do not view excrement as dangerous or harmful, nor as material with which to work evil magic. And this attitude, of course, is reflected in their reaction to the excretory behavior of their infants. For example, while I was sitting in a house with a young man and his infant daughter, the daughter defecated on the bare thigh of her father. He gave no overt indications of disgust or anger, but laughingly called to his wife to remove the faeces from his thigh. The infant, by this time, was having great fun and with real glee* she defecated once again, and with the same parental consequences.

Despite the fact that the infant learns no exaggerated distaste towards faeces from his parents, it does learn that the adults have peculiar attitudes towards faeces and defecation. For example, many babies play with their faeces, smear them on their hands and face, and sometimes eat them. Again, the parents show their usual restraint in dealing with this behavior, but they do deal with it, by preventing the infant from cultivating this pastime. The infant is not punished, however, because he knows no better.

("Bout baby! He no savvy nothing.")

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Once the child learns to walk and to talk, however, he is not only trained in sphincter control, but he learns that his parents are concerned about his bowel movements. He is taught to defecate in the lagoon, not in the house or on land. If he does not readily learn to use the lagoon he is reprimanded and shamed, though not beaten. Any person, parent and stranger alike, will rebuke a child for polluting the ground or the house. The parents often invoke the authority of the chiefs in chastizing the child. "Somebody come this place (that is, to our house), very bad this place. (because of the excrement). Chief come, he angry to this place. You no afraid chief?" My observations indicated that few, if any, children rebel against this training, and I observed none who did not observe the practice of repairing to the lagoon, after they had been so taught.

The attitude towards urine is much more lax. Children who do not as yet wear clothes may urinate on the ground, but not in the house, with impunity.

Parents are not only concerned that the children defecate in the right place, but they are also concerned that they defecate regularly. Parents are alarmed by constipation and often ask their children if they have defecated. If a child should not defecate for a few days, he is considered sick and is given a medicine, consisting of water and herbs, which has a cathartic value.

^{*} I appreciate the anthropomorphism involved in this description. Yet the behavioral constellation was what, in an adult, one would call glee-sparkling and laughing eyes, cooing, and exaggerated movement of arms and legs.

Despite the occurrence of constipation, however, the parents themselves are confident that children do not deliberately withhold their faeces as a form of obstinacy.

The infant is given his name at the age of three months. But here, once again, we face the "problem of ethnographic truth." First of all, we may point out the agreements in the otherwise conflicting evidence. The name is given about the third month. There is no ceremony connected with the naming, nor, with one exception, are there any magical or mystical associations connected with the names of either children or of adults. The exception concerns a person who is ill. Often a sick person is given a new name in order to hasten the departure of the illness, though the people do not know why the changing of the name should have this result. Names are sex-linked, so that a boy is never given a girl's name, nor a girl given a boy's. Names have no etymological significance or meaning. So much is agreed upon.

The disagreement enters with reference to who does the naming. Some informants claimed that the maternal grandparents name the child, usually after a dead kinsman. The chiefs maintained that the parents name the child, and that it is not named after anyone. But an actual experience of naming, in which I was involved, sustained neither report. In administering a Rorschach to a young married woman, I asked her the name of her baby, and she replied that he had not as yet been named. Asking me to wait a few minutes, she entered her house, and after engaging in a brief conversation with the people inside, she returned saying they had just named the baby, so-and-so. Finally, the genealogies reveal that practically every person, living and dead, has a unique name, though there is some overlapping, and that these names are derived from combinations and permutations of a number of prefixes and suffixes that can produce a vast number of names.

As we have pointed out above the mother does not leave her home for the first three months after the birth of her child. At the end of the three month period, she may go about her work, but the infant is not taken with her. It is left in the care of another adult (or adults), and is never left alone, even when it sleeps. It is never left in the care of a child, but may be cared for by an older boy or girl, sibling or non-relative. Though she is permitted to leave her home, the mother does not remain away for a long period, while the infant is still nursing. If she remains away from her baby too long, her nipples feel sore, and she then understands that the baby wants to be fed. It should be remembered, moreover, that the mother is never more than twenty minutes from her baby at any point on the island.

The infant sleeps between its parents. It continues to sleep with them until about the age of three, or until the birth of another baby. With the birth of the baby, the older infant is not only deprived of its mother's breast, but is also compelled to relinquish its sleeping position.

It may be asked whether the infant observes parental intercourse.

Theoretically the answer is no, since the parents are prohibited from having intercourse till the baby can walk. Whether this taboo is observed is, as

has already been indicated, a most point. However, there are a number of other people sleeping in the same house, and though it is pitch dark in the house, particularly within the mosquito netting, it is possible that the infant may observe the copulation of other members of the household, or may at least hear the sounds from within one of the mosquito nets; but this is a point on which I have no evidence.

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Infants are not only greatly desired, as we have already stressed, but they are given the greatest care and indulgence possible. The infant is idealized and indulged to a degree that is unthinkable according to Western standards. We have seen that no infant is ever left alone, day or night, asleep or awake, until it can walk. To isolate a baby would be to commit a major atrocity, for if a baby is left alone, "by and by dies, no more people." Should an infant cry, it is immediately picked up in an adult's arms, coddled, consoled, or fed. Should the baby fall and begin to cry, he is immediately picked up. Thus the baby is in a state of almost complete dependence on the adults about it. This oversolicitude extends to the two and three year olds, as well, assuming that another baby has not entered the household.

To claim that the infant is king in Ifaluk is not to exaggerate his status. The infant is always in control of a social situation, and easily dominates the adults, bending them to his will. Two examples will serve to illustrate this point. Talimeira, the young man who became a second interpreter, and I were interviewing Nautrimar, the mother of a baby about eighteen months old. Nautrimar and I were very close friends, and she was always eager to be of help to me, so that the obstreperous conduct of her baby daughter during the interview was not to her liking. The baby was constantly running about the yard, shouting and creating a disturbance that made it all but impossible to continue with our interview. Nautrimar would catch the baby and hold it in her arms, but the baby would soon leave her arms to run about. Talimeira would pursue her, and hold her for a while, but she would soon leave him, so that her mother would have to chase her again, and pick her up. When the infant wanted to leave her mother's lap, however, she was not restrained, and would again run away. By this time, her mother's sister joined in the pursuit. This little comedy continued for the better part of an hour. All were mildly irritated by the child's behavior, but none made the slightest attempt to restrain her, verbally or physically. The baby was in complete control of the situation.

Another example is even more telling. Tiovis, a 15 month old boy, was brought to the canoe house by his maternal grandfather, Auelimar. During the half hour I remained in the canoe house, he perpetrated the following deeds, without the slightest display of anger on the part of the adults, or the smallest attempt to restrain him. Tiovis began by pushing his hands into the face of Auelimar, pulling his beard, and then shoved his hands under Auelimar's chin, so that the latter had to strain his neck upward. He then grabbed a pole and began to strike Mawaulimar, an elderly man, who saved himself by removing himself from the scene, sitting behind a canoe. Tiovis then

began to play with the rope fibre that Auelimar had in his basket. It requires much time and patience to sort out the fibres, which are to be twisted into rope. Yet when Tiovis began to mess them up so that they became gnarled, Auelimar merely resorted them and replaced them in the basket. Ramen, a young married man, came into the canoe house and took Tiovis in his arms, whereupon the latter did to him what he had done to his grandfather--push his hands in his face, etc. All this while Tiovis remained the center of attention with the men laughing at his antics and having a merry time observing them.

The theory behind this indulgence is that the baby is completely innocent, and is not responsible for its behavior. ("No savvy nothing".) This theory is consistent with the lack of punishment of the child, but surely it need not prevent the adults from restraining some of the infant's behavior which is often destructive.

The same theory is employed to explain the indulgence of the whims and aggressions of the abnormal children. The latter often throw stones at others, which may seriously bruise someone, yet no attempt is made to restrain them, since they "no savvy nothing".

One would expect, theoretically, that this pattern of indulgence would induce a low threshold of frustration tolerance, so that if the infant's desires were to be inhibited it would react with considerable affect. This expectation is born out by the evidence. One example, from many, will serve to illustrate this point. As I entered a courtyard one day, a baby boy about two years old, came over to sit on my lap. He soon discovered the pencil in my pocket, and began to play with it. His play is irrelevant in this connection, but it is of general psychological interest. He repeatedly removed the pencil from my pocket and reinserted it. He then placed it between his thighs, and would stick either himself or me with it. This sequence continued for some time. It was obvious, also, that he was "playing for the gallery", since he would look to see if the people were observing him, and if he noticed that I was unattentive, he would give a shout of rage.

After a time I took the pencil from him. This minor frustration caused him great grief. He shook his body and head violently, and then began to scream ending in a violent temper tantrum. But the moment I returned the pencil the crying ceased, and he became all smiles. Yet when I stood up to leave, taking the pencil with me, he screamed violently and would not be pacified.

The generally accepted adult view of the infants, one may conclude, is that the infant is a powerless, innocent, creature, who must neither be restrained nor punished. The resultant adult behavior is one of indulgence, and little attempt is made to train the child until he can walk and/or talk.

Childhood

The transition from infancy to childhood in Ifaluk is not marked, and it is difficult to distinguish between the end of infancy and the beginning of childhood, though some of the signs of passage from the one stage into the other are beginnings of walking, talking, and general independence.

The Ifaluk language distinguishes, in general, five age classes, but these do not aid us in distinguishing between infancy and childhood since these classes are loosely conceived and do not correspond to specific events or to specific chronological ages. The reason for this is that the people have no system of time notation. Their longest time interval is a rag, a six month period marked by the shifting of the seasonal winds, and no attempt is made to add more than two rag. In the absence of a system of time notation, the Ifaluk do not know their ages; nor would they consider such knowledge of being of any worth. Hence the five age classes merge imperceptibly into each other and, with one exception, reveal no abrupt discontinuity. The exception refers to the passage of the young girl into the young woman class. The abruptness of this change of status is brought on by her first menstrual flow.

The five age classes may be indicated, as follows:

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| Ifaluk term | | English translation | |
|-------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------|
| Male | Female | Male | Female |
| ligau | sauwau | infant | infant |
| sari-man | sari-trowut | boy | girl |
| tari-man | tari-veivel | young man | young woman |
| man | trowut | man | woman |
| tuvai-man | tuvai-trowut | old man | old woman |
| | | | |

Generally the transition from the infancy stage to the <u>sari</u> stage is determined by the beginning of the child's dependency training.

The child who can walk, for example, is expected to wash himself, though often, if a child is very dirty, he may be washed by an older sibling or adult as late as the eighth or ninth year. So, too, talking is stimulated by the parents in this period. When the baby shows signs of talking, his parents encourage him to acquire a vocabulary. For reasons which I could not ascertain, they first teach him to count. The children not only learn how to count, but they learn motor behavior associated with counting. That is, the people often count the number of persons in a house by pointing at each person in turn with their lips as they count them. The children acquire this motor behavior at the same time they acquire the ability to count.

It may be pointed out, incidentally, that lip pointing is also a sign of agreement or affirmation. The women, who were quite shy during my early contact with them, would answer my questions in the affirmative by pointing their lips.

Parents take great pleasure in their children's acquisition of language, and are praised by others on the linguistic progress of their children.

Parents and other adults encourage children to walk when they first show signs of walking, though they do not stimulate them to walk prematurely. As they take the child to the lagoon in the morning, they may permit him to walk by holding his hand, rather than carry him.* The baby's walking is facilitated by a wicker-work structure, built like a play-pen. It has a narrow base, and its sides fan out in a wide circumference as they extend from the base to the top. When placed in it the incipient walker can stand by seizing the rails. This experience is supposed to strengthen his legs.

This structure sheds a minor light on the form-function controversy in anthropology, illustrating the danger of interpreting a culture trait on formal grounds alone. Its form looks like a play-pen, and I was confident that it was a play-pen. Later as I came to know the culture, I was perplexed; why should a play-pen be used in a culture in which small children are never left alone? It was not until a number of months had passed, and I had actually seen one

used, that my question was finally answered.

The younger children have no regular sleeping habits, nor are they compelled to sleep at designated times by their parents. None are required to take afternoon naps--they sleep when they are tired--and they are not required to retire at an earlier hour than the adults. However, they are not permitted to stay out after dark, because of the fear of the <u>alus</u> that may be abroad at night. Sleep, generally, is viewed as a natural phenomenon, induced by fatigue.

It is at this time, too, that children begin to reveal curiosity concerning the nature of men and of the universe. Adults usually attempt to answer these questions realistically and make little attempt to conceal certain kinds of information from children on the grounds that they are still too young to be exposed to such information. Unfortunately most of our evidence for the following discussion was obtained from informants, rather than from empirical observation, so that the information is both incomplete and not entirely trustworthy.

Some informants maintained that children are much concerned about the mystery of birth--their own as well as that of others--whereas others insisted that children have no curiosity concerning this matter. A detailed study of children's attitudes towards sex and childbirth indicated that none of the young children had any conscious knowledge of the process of conception and of birth and, moreover, that none of them had made inquiries of their parents or other adults concerning these matters. The informants who maintained that their children did make such inquiries said they explained the processes of conception and childbirth to them.

^{*} With reference to sibling rivalry, it is of interest to note that I have observed older siblings knocking down their younger siblings when the latter begin to walk.

Adult informants who claimed that their children had not inquired into human parenthood asserted, however, that they did inquire into animal birth, and they admitted that they were evasive in their answers. When the child asked where a dog, for example, had come from the parents would answer that it had come from Rauau or Falārik, (naming various districts in the island.) If this answer did not satisfy the child, and if he attempted to probe further, he was rebuked and told to stop inquiring further into the matter. ("What you talk about to me? You stop. You no talk about that.")

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To all other questions, however, the children are given the available information, if the parents possess the information. On the other hand, if the parents do not know the answer, they discourage the child from probing. For example, children who inquire about the creation of heavenly bodies or of other natural phenomena, such as the wind, may receive the following kind of answer: "You ask me? Me savvy? Very bad talk, I no savvy." But if the culture provides traditional answers to the questions, parents do transmit the information to the children.

Causes of death, the informants said, are not asked in the abstract. That is, children do not ask about the cause of death, but they do ask for the cause of an individual's death. If the dead individual had been ill for some time his death is attributed to illness.

Children also ask the meaning or purpose of various reflexes, to which they are given the traditional answers. Sneezing (mozie) is inexplicable. However, protracted sneezing is a portent of illness, and should an adult be seized with a sneezing fit at night, he will go to sleep in another house. Yawning (maulagtel) results from fatigue. A hiccough (elowei) is caused by food being stuck in the throat. If it continues there is no known remedy. I have seen men hiccough for an extensive period without attempting to do anything to stop it. Dreams (tal) are inexplicable.

Just as questions of children are answered naturalistically, so there is no attempt to stimulate the child's imagination by children's tales or other tales of fancy.

We may now turn from the general interaction of adults and young children to a consideration of the interaction of young children with their peers. From infancy through the latency period boys and girls both play together in play groups. The groups are usually composed of all the young children of one district, though they may at times include children from the other district of the island, as well. But rarely will a child from one island play with the children of another island, and never will he be a regular member of their play group. This does not mean that the play groups are formalized or structuralized. But children of one district play together because of geographic contiguity; and frequency of play leads to the development of patterns of interaction which reveal well-defined relationships of dominance, subordination, leadership, cooperation, and conflict. Geographic contiguity, of course, does not alone explain the formation of these district play groups. The adults deliberately restrict the mobility of the children. A child under 9 or 10 is not

permitted free access to the entire village, and never does he go from his district to another, unless accompanied by an older boy or girl, or by an adult. This means that the only children who establish intimate contacts with children outside of their own district are the <u>aivam</u> adopted outside of their district who spend time in both their original and adoptive homes. Otherwise children from different districts see little of each other except at public gatherings. When adults are asked for the purpose behind this restriction on mobility, they give two answers. First, parents want their children near them so that they can instruct them in certain skills; and if the children were constantly away, they would never be able to learn. Second, adults fear that the children might break or destroy an object belonging to a person in another district.

The play group, then, is comprised of all the boys and girls of a district. The ages may range from two or three to eight or nine. Always, however, when a large number of children play together, they are supervised by one or two girls in the latter ages. That is, two or three young children may play by themselves, but if a number of children play, they are accompanied by two or three of the nine or ten year old girls, who act as supervisors. This is an important social responsibility that the older boys do not share with

the girls. The boys have formed groups of their own by this time.

We may first note some general characteristics of child play. Generally, one is impressed with the egocentricity of the children's play. Each child seems to be acting out his own private phantasies in conjunction, to be sure, with other children, but with his own private meanings. There is no real integration or meaningful interaction, in the sense of reciprocal role-taking but each child tries to serve his own ends, while playing with others. Consequently if a child is dissatisfied with the way the others are playing, he will drop out of the group and play by himself. Another characteristic of Ifaluk child play is the lack of consistency or constancy in their play, over a sustained period of time. They change suddenly from one activity or game to another with no warning at all, or they may drop all activity for no discernable reason. Characteristic of the play of the older children is its randomness and lack of goal-direction. When I was still new to the culture and would ask a group of boys what they were doing, they would often answer with "tar", nothing. When I got to know them better, I began to understand the truth of the remark.

This randomness of behavior is even more marked in the younger children, which is not surprising, since they are still in an exploratory stage. Their play could as well take place in isolation, for their contact is geographical, not interactional. For example, two little boys, about two years old, were playing near the cook-shed, in which some women were preparing food. As I walked up, one was sitting, sucking on the blade of grass and laughing to himself as he chewed it. The other one just sat and stared at me, after which he put his hand in his mouth, sucked it, and then kicked the dirt with his feet. He then rose, smiling, and walked from the shed. One of the women (not his mother) brought him back. He sat down, sucking his finger,

then sucked a twig. Meanwhile the other boy was endlessly winding a piece of grass around with his toes. This went on for a long time, each child turning from one activity to another, completely ignoring the other one.

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Much of the play of children occurs on the beach or in the lagoon. Favorite forms of play in the water include jumping head-first into the lagoon from the run-way that leads from the shore to the over-water-head, swimming, or splashing, playing tag in the water and playing in the canoes. On the beach, many kinds of activities are carried out. The following examples are well representative of the play of children on the beach. A number of children of both sexes dig holes in the sand, trying to build bridges between the holes. The boys become weary and lie down, and the girls cover them completely with sand, and then run off leaving them.

Two young children about the age of five are playing on the beach. Talemelemar is a boy and Iliakong is a girl. They are kneeling in the sand on the beach, piling sand on their legs and thighs until their laps are covered. After tiring of this, they each fill a basket with sand and then fill the sand with water, and throw the mixture into the air. Iliakong throws a basket of sand at Talemelemar, who becomes angry and retaliates by throwing some at her. They both seem to enjoy this, and they continue throwing baskets of sand at each other, enjoying the entire procedure immensely. They suddenly tire of this and return to the task of filling their baskets. When her basket is filled, Iliakong threatens to throw it at Talemelemar. He screams and runs into the ocean. He returns to play in the sand about fifty feet from me. Iliakong kneels by me, playing in the sand. She comes over and tries to look up my shorts. Failing in this she returns to her play in the sand. She makes a ball out of sand, pats it and shifts it from hand to hand--singing all the time, and seemingly oblivious of everything and everyone. Suddenly she jumps up and throws the ball of sand into the air. She tries to walk on her hands but fails and she returns to her play in the sand. Talemelemar sees her trying to walk on her hands and he attempts to imitate her. They both decide to do it together and insist that I watch them. They soon tire of this play, and Talemelemar runs off by himself, while Iliakong returns to the making of sand-balls. Talemelemar soon comes running back insisting that I watch him as he jumps up and down in the shallow water. In the meantime Iliakong has finished making her sand balls, and she runs to the ocean and throws them into the air. She then returns and begins to pile sand on her legs, while Talemelemar begins to make sand balls. Iliakong joins Talemelemar in the making of balls from sand, and they both persist, almost monotonously, in shifting a ball from one hand to the other, patting them as they do so. Iliakong accompanies this activity with song, coordinating her singing and patting in perfect rhythm. She makes three sand balls and puts them beside her basket. touch one, accidentally breaking it. She shouts at me, threatens to throw sand at me, and then buries the other two in the sand. Meanwhile, Talemelemar has built a little hillock out of sand and is scraping sand away from it, so that the hillock is separated from the sand surrounding it. He then picks it up

and places it beside the ball he had made. He makes another ball and buries it, too, in the sand. Then, taking two other balls, he begins to pack them with great care with mud. At this point Iliakong runs to him and deliberately breaks one of the balls, but he says nothing. She tries to kick the other from his hand, but he pulls it away. The ball she was carrying falls accidentally to the ground and breaks. They both laugh uproariously at this. She then throws sand at him, but he dodges. At this point it began to rain, and we all sought shelter in the canoe house.

There are other forms of play as well. Children attempt to climb trees or stumps, though this is an activity of which the adults disapprove. There is a form of play in which the children jump into the air with the object of touching their feet together before they land again. A great favorite is the seemingly meaningless activity of a number of children chasing each other around an imaginary circle, screaming with pleasure until they fall exhausted to the ground.

On windy days there are opportunities for other kinds of play. The boys make human-like figures from coconut leaves, called karigeli. The karigeli are made with long "legs" and when they are placed in the wind they "walk" for a considerable distance. The older boys make kites from coconut leaves which they fly on windy days. They also make model canoes, equipped with sails, which they sail in the lagoon.

A frequent activity of the boys is the spinning of tops. Tops are made by inserting the mid-rib of a coconut leaflet into a coconut bud. When twirled between the hands and released on the ground, these tops spin quite well.

The very young boys and girls play with these tops, though they are not adept at spinning them. They are most interested in throwing them into the air and retrieving them when they fall. This pattern may be repeated almost endlessly for long periods of time. This retrieving pattern is, in general, a favorite form of play. Plates, balls, and other objects are rolled on the ground by the children, who then dash after them to retrieve them.

Often, however, two children roll these objects to each other, playing a sort of "catch" on the ground. A particular favored object for this play is a bottle cap. What is most interesting about this, and related activities, is the personal symbolism involved in the play. One afternoon, for example, Iliakong and Talavusman, a little boy her age, were rolling a bottle cap between them. Talavusman had a sore knee so that he could not retrieve the cap if it rolled past him. Ilialong had to retrieve the cap, in this event, and each time she would run to get it, she would bend her head to the ground, put her hands between her buttocks, and giggle. Talavusman would then giggle with her.

A variant of this play, which is a favorite with the young children, is the rolling of a ball made of coconut leaves between two children, with the object of not hitting a model windbreak that stands beside each of the participants. Should the windbreak be hit and knocked down, both participants and observers

break into peals of laughter. Instead of employing a windbreak, the children often use a fan made of a coconut-rib, which is leaned against a stick which is stuck into the ground. In this case the object is to hit the fan and knock it over. The children find this highly amusing, too, and laugh uproariously whenever the fan is knocked down.

Still another activity, which is a favorite of the younger children, might be characterized as playing wheel-barrow. One child holds the leg of another, and the latter then attempts to walk on one leg.

Some of the play of children is 'imitative' of the behavior of the adults. Children often play being adult by putting on clothes. They put on "skirts" or "loin-cloths" and parade about the house or the courtyard. A variant of this play is the wearing of blankets, which they wrap around themselves and after walking around in the blankets they all lie down together under the blankets.

The adult activity imitated most by the children is the singing of adult songs and the dancing of adult dances. There are no songs or dances specifically designated for children. The children love to sing and were particularly eager to learn American songs.

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There is little attempt to imitate the economic behavior of adults. This can be explained by the fact that children are permitted to participate in adult activities at an early age. Girls, for example, rarely play with dolls or play "house". There are no dolls for the girls to play with. The statuettes which the men carve are used for export only, and no one has thought of using them as dolls to play with. It would seem that the care that the girls devote to the real babies takes the place of doll play. Only once in our seven month study did I observe doll-play. Two little four or five year old girls were playing with a half coconut shell. When I asked what the shell was they answered that it was a cat. As I continued to observe them they said that it was a baby. They held the shell in their arms and sung to it, much as a mother would sing to a baby. They then put it in its "cradle"--a coconut leaf-basket--and rocked it. This activity continued for the better part of an afternoon.

Playing house seems to be as infrequent as doll-playing; at least I observed such play only once. Two girls of about ten or eleven erected a house of coconut leaves and spread mats on the floor. They sat outside the house making wreaths, while a number of young children were inside the house playing. The younger children were treated as "children", and the older girls were their "mothers".

What is most impressive about the activity of Ifaluk children is the scarcity of organized games. I discovered only two such games in the course of this study, one of which was undoubtedly introduced by the Japanese. What is even more impressive is the scarcity of competitive sports or of other activities of physical prowess. There are no running races, swimming races, canoe races, boxing or wrestling matches, or other forms of athletic competition. I discovered only one exception to this generalization—and this is a

favorite game of the young children. Two children face each other, with their palms pressing against each other. Each child then attempts to push the other from his spot, the one who succeeds in pushing the other being the winner.

The two organized games are also competitive. One of these games, which is played by the younger children, is one of the varieties of "it". Two children stand facing each other at a distance of about thirty feet, while the child who is "it" stands between them. The two children on the outside attempt to hit the latter with a ball made of coconut leaves. The one who hits him takes his place in the center.

The other game is played by the older boys and the young men. It is called <u>kat</u> and is similar to checkers. This game was unquestionably borrowed from the Japanese by the young men who had worked on Yap. A board is ruled into horizontal and vertical lines, about nine vertical and twelve horizontal. Each player has twelve pieces of coral or coconut midribs, with which he tries to "capture" those of his opponent, by "jumping". One may jump in either direction, and the "king" may traverse as great a distance as he wants. The winner is the one who captures all of his opponent's pieces. The boys and young men play it with avidity and with great enthusiasm. The same enthusiasm characterizes the card games played by young and old men alike. The Japanese had taught the people some card games, but when we arrived they had no cards. We gave them a deck, and they played the game with great relish, often spending hours at a time at it.

Children are seldom alone, or out of the sight or hearing of the adults. Usually the locale of their play is a courtyard, in view of the women, or in front of a canoe-house, in view of the men. Often they sit in the canoe-houses with the men, doing nothing in particular, engaging in random movement or resting. The children are not separated from the adults because of age differences, and they are permitted access to adult groups and acitivities. In the canoe-houses they are not only accepted without protest, but the men often bring their young children with them. Though children and adults have differential interests, and though there is little question as to which group is dominant and which is submissive, there is no marked dichotomy between the children's and the adult's worlds. They both live and interact in the same world, though they play different roles. It is natural, therefore, that they should play in the canoe-houses. Though the women may not enter a canoe-house, except with the permission of the men, the young girls may enter at any time.

Since much of the activity of children takes place in the canoe-houses, it might be well to describe a typical scene. Three young men are making rope, as is one of the older boys. A man in his middle twenties is merely sitting, while an older man is holding his baby granddaughter in his lap, and another young married man is lying down holding his baby son on his stomach. Three young children are lying about. I lay down on a mat, and one of the little girls comes over to lie down beside me, putting her arms about me.

The baby girl begins to mess up the rope of one of the young men, who laughs, picks her up, and begins to play with her. She is then taken by another of the young men, who soon passes her on to another, until she makes the rounds.

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One of the young boys begins to make rope, while the other watches him. In a little while the latter attempts to wrest the rope from him, whereupon he becomes angry, throws the rope at him, and runs out of the canoe house. The baby boy leaves his father's lap to sit on a board, and begins to chew on sugar cane, part of which he offers me. One of the young men calls to him, and has him puff on his cigarette. The baby enjoys this tremendously, jumping up and down, and clapping his hands with glee. Another man comes in, followed by his step-daughter, who sits on his lap. One of the boys tries to pull the penis of one of the young men, but the latter rebuffs him. He attempts the same with some of the others, but meets the same resistances. He lies down, chewing on a twig. The little girl is singing to herself. Suddenly one of the children leaves the canoe-house, and calls to another to join him. They begin to throw their tops into the air. Soon the third child joins them, and they are at their games again.

Adoption

It is when they begin to walk that more than one third of the Ifaluk children change their residence. That is, it is at this time that adopted children are taken from the homes of their biological parents to the homes of their adoptive parents. Of eighty-one children in Ifaluk, thirty two are adopted (aivam). There are at least two reasons for adoption. If a couple is childless, they may wish to have a baby, because "only they chow." That is, being without children they eat their meals alone, which is to say that they are lonesome. Secondly, a couple with only one child may desire a child of another sex, a girl to work the taro patch, a boy to do the men's work.

A couple that wishes to adopt a child go to a pregnant woman of either the husband's or wife's clan, but not to a non-clan member, and inform her that they would like to adopt her forthcoming baby. If the woman has no other children, she may refuse the request, but if she has children she usually acceeds to their request, for if she does not "all people and chief very angry at her". Should she not agree, however, she may not be compelled to part from her child. Nevertheless, the people know of no case of refusal. The adopting parents do not give a gift nor even a symbolic offering to the parents of the child. When the baby is born, the mother of the infant nurses it. When she leaves the birth-hut, she is accompanied by the adoptive mother, who spends much time in the home of her adopted child. At the end of the three-month period in which the mother and infant are confined to the house, the baby is taken often to the home of its adoptive parents by its mother. Both remain for the day and return home in the evening. When the infant can walk, he goes to the home of his adoptive parents to remain permanently in their home.

The <u>aivam</u> is treated as if he were the very own child of the adoptive parents and the patterns of interaction--both formal and informal--are identical for him as for a biological child. The adoptive child, however, is by no means abandoned by his real parents. In few cases does his relationship to his real parents change because of his new status. Since the atoll is small, it is possible for an adopted child to see its real parents daily, and he does. In effect adoption means that the child has four parents instead of two, and two houses instead of one. Talimeira, who is an adoptive child, jokes about his having two families, and points out that if he is hungry he can eat in either house if he is dissatisfied with the fare in one. The same is true of other activities. The <u>aivam</u> may sleep in either house, and receives shelter, protection and security from both.

This dual interactional pattern applies to his entire life. The <u>aivam</u> belongs to two kinship groups, his "natural" as well as his adoptive. This means that he is subject not only to the incest taboos of his biological siblings, but to those of his adoptive siblings as well. But though he belongs to two kin groups, the aivam inherits only from his "natural" kin group.

Though the cultural or institutionalized pattern of interaction between adoptive child and adoptive parents duplicates that of biological child and biological parent, the quality of the former relationship displays variations. Some adoptive children are much more intimate with their adoptive parents than with their biological parents. On the other hand, there are instances in which the converse is true. Talimeira almost always referred to his biological mother when he spoke of his mother. When I first asked him to take me to his home, he took me to the home of his biological mother. On the other hand, Morolivok, an adoptive boy in his late teens, always referred to his foster parents as his parents; and he and his adoptive brother are inseparable. But Tom, who is his adoptive father, definitely makes a distinction between him and his biological son, Alemwal. When Tom speaks of "my son," he invariably means Alemwal. This distinction is manifest in his behavior, as well. When I administered a battery of tests to Morolivok, Tom asked him to sit on the ground beside us. When Alemwal came to take the tests, Tom insisted that he sit with us on the mat. These subtle manifestations, I am sure, are unintentional, and if he were asked, Tom would say that he loved both sons equally.

The psychological effects of adoption on the young child are probably neither beneficial or deleterious, but it does have psychological effects which have quite important social consequences. The institution of the <u>aivam</u> serves to broaden the already diffuse pattern of mutual aid. Because of the mutual rights and obligations entailed by the kinship system an <u>aivam</u> can count upon his adoptive, as well as his biological, kin for assistance and they, in turn, can count on him. But the institution of the <u>aivam</u> serves, also, to minimize the intensity of feelings that obtains between a small number of individuals --parents and child--when their emotions are channelled only towards each other, and diffuses their feelings by directing them towards a number of people.

Socialization

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As the child grows older and becomes aware of the world about him, he also becomes aware of the patternings of relationship and of interaction between himself and others. Before examining the pattern of those relationships, it may be well to point out two facts of general consideration. Though the Ifaluk family is the most important group in the inculcation and canalization of patterns of interaction, the family is not as crucial a group in Ifaluk as it is in many other cultures for two reasons. In the first place, the nuclear family is seldom together at one time; the father is in the canoe house, the mother in the taro patch, the children are playing, the young people are about their activities. There are few meals at which the entire family is present, or required to be present, people eating when and where they choose. On the other hand, there is little distinction between one's relatives in the extended family and non-relatives. Everyone knows everyone else in the village, and the child moves in a world in which there are no strangers. There are no strange faces or strange people towards whom one's behavior must be different. All individuals look alike and they all treat him alike. If he is hungry any of them gives him food; if he needs anything, anyone will try to satisfy his need. Every house is open to him and he never has to learn that some houses are different from others; he can walk freely into any house at any time of the day or night.

We may now examine some of these patterned kin interactions as they relate to the socialization of the child.

Mother-child: Once the mother has weaned her child, her major distinctive responsibility has been discharged. She has socialization functions, to be sure, but there is little that distinguishes her responsibilities in this regard from those of others. The mother seems to have a more intimate relationship with her daughter than with her son. This is probably due to her responsibility of initiating her daughter into her future economic roles. The girl, we shall see, assumes greater economic responsibility than the boy, and it is her mother that is her most important mentor. Generally, the mother's relationship to the young children is a very permissive one, and her authority is not always readily accepted. When disobeyed she may either attempt to enforce her demands by force, or she may acquiesce in the child's demands. We might give some examples of both patterns. The mother of little two year old Velaut called for him to come home, while he was playing with a group of other children. When he refused, she went to him, lifted him from the ground and carried him home. On another occasion the mothers of a group of playing children called to them to come home to eat. The children refused, and the mothers could not cope with the situation. At times the child's disobedience may provoke his mother to anger. Two boys --parallel cousins--about four and five years of age entered their house while their family was eating. They were urged by their mothers to eat, but only one of the two was finally persuaded. The other refused, and

when the women continued to urge him, he raised his voice and shouted, "No!" His mother continued to encourage him, and he then began to imitate her behavior. At this point she lost her temper, seized a coconut leaf, and attempted to beat him; but he ran out of the house, with his mother in pursuit.

Father-child: Though the early role of the father in the child's life is minimal, it becomes even greater than that of the mother after the child is weaned. Once the infant is weaned, the children probably spend more time with their fathers than with their mothers. The father takes the young child with him to the canoe-house, and keeps it with him for the better part of the day. The father plays with the child and even feeds it if the mother is away in the taro patch. In general, the father seems to show greater concern for the child than does the mother. If a child needed medication, it was almost invariably the father, and not the mother who would bring him to us to ask what could be done. During a stiff blow in the middle of November, I met Taraveliman, a young father of three children. He was very concerned and worried about his children saying that if the storm were to drive the family out of the house, it would create a real problem since one child was a baby, and another had a wounded leg. Furthermore, his third child had been adopted by a family in Falarik and he did not know how he was reacting to the storm. When I met him on the path, he was on his way to see the latter.

Mothers, too, are much concerned about their children, and the interest of parents in their children is by no means confined to their childhood. Parents take great pride in the activities of their older children. Many songs exist in which the mother praises her son for some notable accomplishment. During the dances that we observed, Tom was very proud of his sons and would take every opportunity to point out some distinguishing feature of their dancing. Before one of the dances was to commence, Wotriliwok, a lad of about twenty, was decorated by his mother with meticulous care and great concern. Parents are lonesome for their grown sons and daughters who have gone on a trip, or have moved to another island. One of the most important reasons for inter-island travel is to visit with one's departed family. Tom called his dog by a native name, which means "You have been absent for a long time", in memory of his son who was in Yap and had not returned for a long time.

Grandmother-grandchild: The grandmother, both maternal and paternal, plays an intimate role in the life of the child. The grandmother feeds, clothes, washes, and trains the child. An infant's needs may be attended to by either mother or grandmother. The grandmother (or grandfather) watches the young child when he plays to prevent it from getting into mischief. If the grandmother is too old to engage in strenuous activities, her entire life is often oriented around the child, leaving the mother free for other activities. If the child becomes ill the grandmother is often more in evidence than are the parents. In the three cases of serious children's

illness that occurred while we were on the island, the grandmother took command of the situation. The grandmother also helps to train the child in the group values. Talemelemar, a boy of five, refused to share his food with Taraveligar, a boy of about seven. His grandmother rebuked him, saying that the latter was the elder of the two and, hence, entitled to greater respect.

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The grandmother's relationship to the child is usually a very permissive one. Iliakong, about four, wished to have some object which her grandmother refused her. She became angry and began to hit her grandmother on her legs and her chest, and then she began to pull quite hard at her nipples. Her grandmother accepted this aggression in good grace, and jokingly called her malebush. On another occasion Iliakong's grandmother wished to wash her. When she refused, her grandmother asked if I could influence her but I had no more influence than the grandmother. Her grandmother continued to plead with her, but her pleading was in vain. In the meantime Iliakong had found a button, and came to her grandmother to show it to her. Talemelemar came up behind her and knocked it out of her hand, whereupon she fell to the ground in a terrific tantrum, screaming, kicking, and swinging her arms. She then picked up some sand and was about to throw it at me, when she saw her grandmother and threw it at her instead. This proved to be the turning point, for she then got up, laughing and singing, and meekly followed her grandmother to the lagoon to be washed. Her grandmother neither scolded nor punished her for this behavior.

Mother's sister-child: The mother's sister, too, plays almost the same role as the mother. She feeds the child, plays with it and cares for it. At times, if one did not know the actual biological tie, it would be difficult to infer from behavior just who was the mother and who the maternal aunt. This is particularly true where the mother is still nursing an infant, for then it is her sister who meets the emotional needs of the elder child. One day, for example, a number of people were sitting in the home of Talavusman, playing with his baby brother. He was completely ignored, and looked very downcast. His maternal aunt, observing his dejection, called him to her, painted his face, and he was immediately all smiles again.

These are the most important inter-generation relationships in the child's life. In the child's own generation, his older siblings, particularly his sisters, function as protectors and guardians. When the babies are able to walk they play under the surveillance of older girls--from age six or seven to age eleven or twelve. Usually two or three older girls are in charge of a group of younger children, including not only their own siblings, but also other children in their district. The smaller children can, and do, attach themselves to older boys, as well; but, generally it is the girls who care for them. This guardianship gives the elder sibling a position of power

^{*} Iliakong's epileptic seizure; Arivelibung's attack by a dog; Talavusman's deeply cut knee.

over the younger, and the latter, at times, resents it. I have, however, observed no case of the usurpation of this power, though there are many cases involving the refusal of the younger child to obey the older. Often, for example, an older sister would come to take a younger sibling home, and the latter would refuse.

The older sibling often functions as a mother-surrogate, feeding as well as carrying her younger brother or sister. It is a bit ludicrous to observe a young seven or eight year old girl carrying her three year old brother or sister. It is also amusing to observe the older ones trying to initiate the younger ones into the cultural values. While playing on the beach one afternoon, the older girls tried frantically to get the younger children off the beach. When I asked for the reason, they explained that the men were coming in from fishing and that it was taboo for children to witness the bringing in of the fish.

Any older boy or girl may play the role of protector or guardian towards the younger children, as well as enforcer of the cultural values. One afternoon two young girls were doing a bwarux dance on the beach. Wormai, a lad of about 19, saw them from his canoe, and shouted at them to stop the dance, which they did.

Observations of the interaction of siblings indicates much evidence of sibling rivalry. Sibling rivalry can be expressed in many ways, directly and indirectly, overtly and symbolically. There is little question but that much of the play of the children is an expression of this rivalry. A few instances of overt attempts of an older child to compete with a younger sibling for his mother's love might be instructive. While sitting with a group of people, a young mother was nursing her three-month old baby. Her fouryear old son came to her and stood behind her with his arms about her neck. He then seized his mother's breast from the mouth of his baby brother. His mother sent him away. In another case, a woman was holding her baby daughter when her five-year-old son walked over to her, put his arms about her waist, and began to fondle her breasts. She rebuffed him at first but when he tried to pull his sister to the ground she picked him up and carried them both. In a final example Talavusman's father was playing with his young baby and Talavusman was looking on very enviously. He finally left them to sit on the lap of his mother. When she told him to get off, he grabbed a stick, and threatened his little parallel cousin with it, in an obvious displacement of aggression. He then took a cloth, covering his penis very ostentatiously, at which everyone laughed. Since the two younger babies in the house were girls, and they received all the attention, this little bit of behavior might well be interpreted as an attempt to be a girl, so that he too could receive the attention of the adults.

This rivalry is as apparent to the natives as it is to the ethnographer. The older sibling, the people agree, does not like the younger, but his parents tell him that the infant is his sibling and that he should love him and be kind to him. The child, so the people claim, takes this preachment to heart, so that "he savvy, he like". But in reality the problem is not so simple. It is

rare that "he savvy, he like". The people themselves point out that following the birth of an infant the older sibling becomes "ill". Often he cannot eat or sleep, and then a special medicine is prepared for him. In many cases the older sibling actually strikes the infant. The natives attribute this "sickness" of the child to the lonesomeness it had felt for its mother during her ten day confinement in the birth hut, which persists for a time even after her return.

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A study was made of this "illness" by interviewing all women in the island of Falarik who were mothers of both infants and young children. This study reveals that the "illness" is even more severe than had been reported. Table I shows the behavioral patterns manifested by young children who live in the same house as young infants. Only chronic patterns are included in the table rather than sporadic reactions.*

Table I

Behavior Patterns Manifested by Young Children Who are Older Siblings of Infants

| Behavior | Number of Subjects | Percent of Subjects |
|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Temper Tantrums | 23 | 96 |
| Negativism | 22 | 92 |
| Night Terrors | 21 | 88 |
| Crying, Whining, etc. | 20 | 83 |
| Eating Problems | 19 | 79 |
| Fighting or Attacking | 18 | 75 |
| Willful Disobedience | 17 | 71 |
| Shy | 16 | 67 |
| Insulting | 16 | 67 |
| Destruction of Property | 15 | 63 |
| Thumb Sucking | 14 | 58 |
| Cursing | 0 | 0 |

The frequency of the emotional disturbances revealed in this table shows very clearly that the children experience the birth of a new sibling as highly disturbing. This emotional disturbance may not be explained only by the normal resentment that a child feels towards another with whom he must now share his parents or material goods. In Ifaluk there is an additional factor which renders the birth of a sibling so terribly disturbing to the Ifaluk child. And it is this factor to which we must turn.

^{*} This study was part of a larger study of child care and behavior conducted on the basis of a "schedule for children" prepared by Dr. J. W. M. Whiting, for use in the study of children in non-literate cultures.

We have repeatedly emphasized the fact that the baby is king in Ifaluk. Not only are babies desired and not only are all their desires satisfied, but they are the constant center of attention. They are always the focal point of the household. This orientation, moreover, remains constant. The eyes of the adults are always focused on the babies, so that once the baby grows older he is out of focus, so to speak, and a new baby is now in focus. There is little eye accommodation, which would enable both the new infant and the growing baby to be in focus. In other words, the king is dethroned. His place of centrality is now usurped by a younger infant. From a position of extreme overt love and attention he is relegated to a position where he is relatively ignored. Adults are still concerned about him, but they leave him to shift for himself. He is free to come and go when he wants and to eat where he wants, so long as he is not too far from sight. But what is even more important, the constant overt affection to which he had become accustomed is now withdrawn. I have seldom observed a child four or five years old to be held in an adult's arms, to be kissed or hugged, or to receive any overt, physical affection. From a state of infancy--a state of overabundant love -- the child passes directly to a state of adulthood, with regard to the display of affection. The result of this differential treatment is a child starved for affection. And much of child behavior--aggressive behavior towards adults and children, rivalry with other children, and sibling rivalry--is certainly a result of his affection frustration.

This situation of childhood did not assume significance for me for a long time. I had attributed the fondness of the children for me as due to gratitude for the candy I gave them, and to the novel experience of knowing a person of different physical type. And though these factors played some role, I came to realize that they were by no means the major factors. The fact is that I was the only adult in their world that showed genuine interest in them, that played with them, that displayed overt affection for them. In other words, I was playing the role that their parents and other adults had played when they had been babies. I was filling a deep emotional need in their lives. This interpretation impressed itself on me as I was sitting in a canoe-house watching the men repairing a beam. Talemelemar, who is definitely a "problem child" -- aggressive, uncooperative, disobedient -came in and sat down next to me. He was strangely quiet and unboisterous --abnormal behavior for him--so I kept one eye on him and one on the men at work. After many abortive attempts he snuggled against me, resting his head on my arm. I put my arm around him, drawing him to me, whereupon he nestled against me and dropped his head into my lap. For the duration of the afternoon he lay on my lap with a look of peace and serenity that I had thought him incapable of. The bully and devil were completely gone. This was, for me, an impressive and crucial experience. For the first time I gained some insight into Talemelemar, and through him into the other children. I had done something for him that no other adult had done since he had been a baby. I had shown some affection for him, had

not rejected him, and had not, when some babies came into the canoe-house, discarded him in favor of them. This interpretation was confirmed later by other instances of children who were withdrawn and insecure, but who warmed up to me when I gave them the same kind of affection.

Even more impressive than the adult absorption with the infants, and the consequent ignoring of the emotional needs of the child, is the conscious ignoring and rejection of the child. The minutest frustration of the infant is attended to immediately, whereas much greater frustrations of the child are not only ignored, but often provoke amusement. A few examples may illuminate this point. One afternon as I was resting in our tent I heard a great outcry coming from the household behind us. After it continued for a long time I went to discover the source of the trouble. Lemalialok, a girl of about seven, was sitting on the ground, outside of her house, wailing at the top of her lungs. Her wails seemed to be wails of frustration rather than of pain, and I remained to observe her, though she did not see me. Soon, the members of her household, some of whom were sitting in the house and some outside of the doorway, saw me and told Lemalialok that I was watching her. All this time the adults did nothing to appease her feelings, but permitted her to lie on the ground, screaming to the point of exhaustion. When I asked her the reason for her crying she said that her older sister, Leangteisai, had taken her knife. After talking to her, and giving her some candy, she finally stopped her crying. Had I not intervened she could have persisted in her crying for an hour without anyone paying any attention to her. When she stopped crying I called to Leangteisai, and asked her the cause of the difficulty. She gave me the same reason as Lemalialok but she told the story with a smirk and a look of superiority on her face--another of many examples of sibling rivalry.

Another time I heard loud crying coming from a house near us. The crying persisted for a minimum of twenty minutes before I decided to investigate the trouble. It was three-year-old Lepiemar. It seems that her mother was holding her (the mother's) grandchild, and when Lepiemar asked her mother to hold her, her mother refused and shoved her away. Here is rejection of the child and an obvious (to the child) preference for the younger baby. Lepiemar sobbed and wailed, but her mother made no attempt to appease her. (The frustrating stimulus may seem slight, but we have already indicated that infantile over-indulgence has created a low threshold of frustration tolerance.)

On another occasion four-year-old Lezabung was the victim. Again I heard long, protracted, crying before I went to discover the cause. Her mother, older sister, and four women were all sitting outside the house, but none made any gesture to help her. When she saw me, she came running to me, and wept bitter tears on my shoulder. Unfortunately, I did not ascertain the cause of her misery, as my linguistic ability, poor at the best, could not cope with the sounds of the crying girl.

These children in the latency period are, unquestionably, in the least favored position. The infants are pampered and overindulged. pubescent children, though not indulged, also have a favorable position. They are economic assets and, hence, have the respect of their parents and adults. They enjoy adult prerogatives, such as permission to assist in adult work and free mobility. The intermediate group has no adult privileges. Furthermore, they have not only been dethroned by the infants, but they find themselves subservient to the older children. This means that they have no visible means of ego support. The older children receive their emotional response from their peers, looking to them for esteem and affection. Together they can, if necessary, pit themselves against the adult world. The younger children do not have these advantages. Having experienced a traumatic rejection, they have not yet learned to establish genuine interactional patterns with their peers. Furthermore, they are still attempting to ingratiate themselves with their parents, and view their peers as possible threats to such attempts. Thus, as we shall soon see, there is rivalry among themselves. Since children are instructed, from the time they can speak, that aggression is the most heinous of offenses, and are punished for it, there would probably be much more aggression were it allowed expression.

Some simple examples of aggression among children may be described. Five-year-old Talavusman had cut his leg, and as I applied merthiclate to the cut, Iliakong and Lezabund, about the same age, who were sitting with us began to make fun of him, laughed at him, and imitated his crying.

Lemalialok told Talavusman to sit down. He refused and spit in her face. Talemelemar, who was present, then spit in Talavusman's face.

A group of children were digging for some roots. Talemelemar tried to dig for the same root for which one of the girls was digging. She pushed him aside, and he fell on his face, crying. While digging, Iliakong smeared dirt all over Talavusman, who withdrew from the scene.

Often the aggression is minor, but the reaction is severe. The children fight over the possession of the most trifling object, and the loser weeps bitter tears, usually falling to the ground screaming. When playing, the children are constantly frustrating each other, and they then burst into sham screaming—sham, because the tears and cries disappear the moment the frustration is removed.

This pattern of crying at the slightest provocation can probably be traced to the infancy situation, where it was a successful mastery technique for it would inevitably relieve the frustration. These children still attempt to master their new reality situations with a technique that no longer works. As such it is typical regressive behavior, representing an attempt to cope with a problem on a lower level of integration. It is only after they realize that crying is of no avail that the children finally abandon it.

Rivalry between children for the attention of the adults is very obvious, and I shall restrict my examples to those in which I was the object of the

rivalry. One evening I was sitting in one of the houses with a number of children. Little Iliakong was in the house, but she ignored my presence. But the moment I began to play with one of the little girls, Iliakong immediately came over to me laughing, and sat on my lap, forcing her attention upon me.

Lezabung wanted some candy, and I gave her some. She asked me to carry her home where the other children were playing. As we walked, I asked her why she did not eat her candy, but she only smiled coyly. The reason became evident. When we came to her home, she proudly showed off her candy to the other children. Her purpose in having me give her the candy and carry her home was to show off to the others.

Almost every day the children would fight with each other over who was to sit on my lap, and the problem could be solved only by permitting two, and even three, to do so simultaneously.

Walking down the path, Talavusman and Talemelemar were fighting as to which would hold my hand. The latter struck the former with a coconut leaf, and he fell to the ground crying. (An older girl picked him up and consoled him.)

Two children were playing with a tennis ball, competing with each other to see who would throw it at me. When I threw it at one, the other would fall crying to the ground, and vice versa.

What the children want, in all of these antics, is the adult's exclusive attention, and they are unwilling to share him with the others. If I held one child in my arms, the others would try to intrude, and if I would not hold them as well, they would try to pull the first one off. If one can not have the desired object, the other is not permitted to either. On one day this technique failed and the children tried other techniques. They tried to draw my attention from the child in my arms to themselves, by an exhibitionistic performance. Talemelemar rolled a record disk on its side. Velaut threw a stone in the air. Lezebung asked me to look at a sore on her leg. The others then showed me sham sores, asking that I put medicine on them. Talavusman showed me two or three, but I refused to apply medication as they were slight scratches. Talemelemar then grabbed Talavusman's penis, saying I should look at it.

Just as the other children try to distract the adult's attention from the child he is with, so the latter tries to distract the attention of the adult from the other children. If, while holding one child I would turn to give some attention to other children, the former would twist her face into mine, laugh and smile at me, put her lips on mine--all to keep my attention exclusively on her. Once, after I deliberately shunned Iliakong in favor of the others, she bent down with her buttocks close to my face, and made a flatulation sound with her mouth--a favorite form of aggressive behavior among Ifaluk children.

At times the patterns of aggression among children interfere with those of cooperation. For example, some children and I came into a canoe-house,

and a man offered us some taro. Talemelemar took some and offered a piece to Iliakong. She placed it on the ground, stood up, and hit him on the head.

Much of the children's aggression, of course, is sublimated in their games, or it is displaced onto dogs. The children, as well as the adults, mistreat the dogs. A three-year-old was bitten by a dog, but not until he had beaten it for no reason at all with a heavy pole. Uveli, a young lad, held a dog's head on the ground, its ears squeezed together, while the children laughed with great zest. When the dog managed to escape, Uveli kicked it. Children often kick the dogs, pull their tails, and maltreat them in other ways.

Explicit patterns of solicitude and mutual helpfulness in the young children are not too frequent. Naturally, since they play together all day, their interactional patterns are more cooperative then antagonistic. Though the number of overt gestures of care and concern are not many, there are instances of them. At times, for example, when I gave candy to one child, he would not keep it, but would pass it on to another, and then ask for another piece for himself. Often if two children are fighting and one falls to the ground, a third child will pick him up. One afternoon Talavusman and Talemelemar had a battle royal, the former screaming with frustration and pain. Later in the afternoon he came to have his leg rebandaged, and Talemelemar, who came with him, displayed great concern for his welfare. He brought him a mat on which to sit, instructed him in how to hold his leg, and was generally solicitous and kind. These occasions, however, are infrequent.

The primary social value in Ifaluk is non-aggression or cooperation. Aggression in any form is viewed as the most reprehensible of all activities. It is little wonder, then, that the primary conscious aim of the socialization process in Ifaluk is the elimination of aggression. Despite the high incidence of aggression in children, this goal of the socialization process is attained with unqualified success for there are no overt expressions of hostility in the interpersonal relations of Ifaluk adults. It is to this aspect of the socialization process to which we must now turn.

Three techniques were employed in the study of this problem. Mothers of all children were interviewed, the entire children's population was interviewed, and personal observations were made. It is very interesting that, with two minor exceptions, all three techniques yielded the same data. Table 2 summarizes the responses of the children concerning those behaviors for which the children said they had been punished.

These figures speak for themselves, and no comment is necessary except to point out that almost all punishable behavior falls in the category of aggression. Some of the sex differences may be commented upon, however. It will be seen that boys do more stealing and stone throwing than the girls. The reasons for this sex difference are obscure. It may be that the greater incidence of stealing among boys is a consequence of the fact that objects most stolen are stolen from the canoe-houses, and only the boys have

Table 2
Behavior for which Children are Punished

Total subjects: 42. Male: 25. Female: 17

| | Total Banjoots | , | , | |
|-----------------|----------------|---------------|--------|----------|
| Behavior | No.of Subjects | % of Subjects | Male % | Female % |
| Fighting | 21 | 50 | 56 | 41 |
| Disobedience | 18 | 43 | 40 | 47 |
| Stone Throwing | 11 | 26 | 36 | 12 |
| Theft | 10 | 23 | 32 | 11 |
| Standing and ta | lking | | | |
| in the presence | of adults | | | |
| (in canoe-ho | ouse) 10 | 23 | 40 | 0 |
| Playing without | re- | | | |
| turning home to | eat 7 | 16 | 16 | 23 |
| Physical aggre | ssion | | | |
| against parents | | 7 | 0 | 17 |

completely free acess to canoe-houses. That girls do not violate the injunction against standing and talking in the presence of men can be accounted for on the same grounds. The category in which there are no male offenders --physical aggression against parents--is probably a result of the greater economic responsibilities of the young girls. The resentment they feel finds expression in overt aggressions. The fact that the mother rather than the father is the object of the aggression lends credence to this interpretation since it is the mother who superintends the girls' work.

Having established those behaviors which are deemed wrong by the people, we must turn to an investigation of those techniques by which those behaviors are extinguished and desirable responses are elicited. Learned behavior can no longer be viewed as simple imitation, in which a young and immature organism almost instinctively copies the behavior of an older and mature organism. Social learning, as Miller and Dollard have demonstrated, is a dynamic process involving the same variables found in other learning stations.* Hence we must turn to those rewards which are employed in Ifaluk to reinforce desirable behavior and those punishments employed to extinguish undesirable behavior.

Punishments are quite definite and tangible in Ifaluk, whereas rewards are quite intangible. In a culture such as that of Ifaluk, in which each family is a self-sufficient economic unit, the child cannot be given anything which the family does not already possess, and what it does possess is already his for use. Rewards, then, in the form of material goods or presents would

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^{*} N. Miller and J. Dollard, Social Learning and Imitation, 1941.

merely be an addition to something the child already has--some extra food, a larger basket, a new loin cloth--important, but not important enough as to act as a dynamic agent in the learning process.

This leaves two other rewarding factors--praise and privilege. Privilege, too, is relatively unimportant, for given the cultural and geographical realities there is little in the way of special privilege that the child can receive for good behavior. Any material benefits that the society has to offer are received automatically by the child as he matures. Such privileges as being permitted to stay up late at night, to accompany his parents to a feast, or to the home or a relative, are not special privileges, but are his as of right. No Ifaluk parent ever bribes his child, therefore, with the promise, that if you do such-and-such, I will permit you to do so-and-so. The pattern of reward or privilege following a meritorious deed is, therefore, relatively unimportant in Ifaluk.

The one category remaining under reward is praise, and this technique is extensively employed. The child who conforms to social expectations, or who performs a particularly meritorious deed, or who acquires a skill, is praised not only by his parents but by all adults. The positive dynamic in Ifaluk learning seems to be the desire to be loved, the desire for the euphoria that accompanies the feeling of being accepted, and the desire for the emotional security that comes from having pleased one's elders and merited their praise.

But positive sanctions are not sufficient. The negative sanctions are even more important in Ifaluk than the positive. If one desires praise and security, one wishes to avoid rejection, shame, and ridicule. The latter are probably the most important factors in the Ifaluk socialization process. "If you do that," or "if you no savvy that, you all same dog or pig" is the kind of ridicule that both shames the child and makes him aware of his implicit rejection by his parents. But this is not enough. There are six punishments that are employed in disciplining the recalcitrant child, all of which, according to the children's confession, are distasteful because of the feeling of shame that they experience. These punishments include being beaten, spat upon, thrown in the lagoon, confined to the house, threatened with an alus, and scolded.

The child is beaten with a coconut leaf, never with the open hand or fist, and the physical pain involved is negligible. Being spat upon, of course, involves no physical pain. Being thrown into the ocean is not physically painful, though it might induce fear-fear of octopus or shark or an alus of the sea. There is no fear of drowning, since the child is thrown into shallow water. Being scolded involves no physical pain, nor does being threatened with an alus, though the latter does elicit fear, for the alus, it will be remembered, causes illness. Confinement involves no physical pain, but it is extremely frustrating, for the children ordinarily enjoy complete mobility within their district, and being confined works a greater handicap on them than it would for an American child. But the children all maintained that they were greatly ashamed by these punishments.

Table 3 is a summary of Ifaluk punishments as reported by the children.

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Table 3

Punishments Employed in Socialization

Number of subjects: 42, Male: 25, Female: 17

| Punishment | No. of Subject | s % of Subjects | Male % | Female % |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|--------|----------|
| Beating | 35 | 83 | 88 | 76 |
| Spitting | 22 | 52 | 56 | 47 |
| Thrown in oc | ean 18 | 43 | 56 | 23 |
| Confinement | . 18 | 43 | 44 | 41 |
| Threatened v | vith alus 17 | 40 | 56 | 18 |
| Scolding | 14 | 33 | 24 | 47 |

The next table expresses statistically the severity of the punishment, as experienced by the child. Each child was asked which punishment he disliked the most.

Table 4

Relative Severity of Punishments as Experienced by the Children

Female: 7

| Punishment | No. of Subjects | % of Subjects | Male % | Female % |
|-------------|-----------------|---------------|--------|----------|
| Beating | 10 | 41 | 41 | 43 |
| Confinement | 5 | 20 | 23 | 14 |
| Spitting | 4 | 17 | 6 | 41 |
| Ocean | 3 | 12 | 17 | 0 |
| Alus | 2 | 8 | 11 | 0 |
| Scolding | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Number of subjects: 24, Male: 17,

The small number of female subjects permits no interpretive results to be drawn from the differential sexual responses.

The most interesting feature of these techniques, we have already indicated, is their remarkable degree of success. Though aggression is marked in the young children, it disappears from their behavior no later than by the age eight or nine. Children above this age do not fight nor do they engage in other forms of interpersonal aggression. Furthermore, they have introjected the cultural values so well that any form of competitive game or sport is viewed by them as coming under the non-aggression sanction. This pattern

of non-aggression continues, as we shall see, throughout their lives. Interpersonal aggression is absent in Ifaluk adult behavior.

Socialization involves the learning not only of the values of the culture, but also the institutionalized activities of the society. From the time the infant may be taken from the confines of his home there is no cultural activity he may not witness; and, as a matter of fact, he is taken to them all. Whether it be a political meeting, a religious ceremony, a dance, or an economic activity, the child is a witness to the proceedings from early infancy. When an infant, he is carried by his parents; later, he goes by himself. In short there is no institutionalized facet of his culture that, in principle, is barred to the child, except the premarital sexual relationship (gomwar); and even that is freely discussed in his hearing. He begins to observe adult behavior, therefore, much before he begins to participate in the activities himself. This means that in many instances all that is lacking for his full participation is the required skill or strength, rather than the knowledge or information. His culture, therefore, is not a mystery from which he is excluded. He is never made to feel, except in the case of sex, that there are adult activities which, for inexplicable reasons, he may not share. He may and does share them, but full participation must await greater maturity. And when he does begin to participate actively in his culture it is not as a sudden transition from one discrete category to another, a precipitate change from childhood to adulthood, an abandonment of one world and an entry into a new and entirely different world. His cultural, as well as biological, growth is continuous, for his cultural participation increases concomitantly with his biological maturation. Thus the children are passive participants in almost all aspects of the culture, but they do not become active participants until they can engage in the activity with some degree of competence.

One of the first adult activities in which children engage is the dance. Boys and girls attend dance rehearsals with their parents, and they not only observe the dancers, but they imitate their behavior. Small tots are encouraged by the women to imitate the male dancers, and they actively induct them into the dance by guiding their arm and leg movement in the proper fashion. The boys, from about four or five years of age and up, participate in the dance itself. They are ornamentally bedecked like the men, and though their participation is not important for the performance of the dance, it does afford them an opportunity to engage in adult activity. This means, of course, that it is unnecessary to teach the dance to the growing children because they first learn it by imitation and by actual participation when they are children, and by the time they are ready to take their places as full-fledged members

they have mastered the technique.

In economic life the children have certain responsibilities, though here there is an important sexual differential. The little girls begin to assume domestic responsibilities much before the boys, so that the boys of seven or eight may be seen playing in their gangs, while the girls at that age are at home, helping their mothers with the cooking, caring for a younger sibling,

or collecting flowers for garlands. When a girl reaches the age when she begins to wear a grass skirt, she becomes a mother surrogate to the younger children. She carries them with her, watches over their play, washes them, feeds them, and in general supervises their activities. A boy may, if he likes, perform any of these tasks; but a girl is delegated these responsibilities. The girl assists her mother in household work, helping her to clean the house, and helping in the cooking, and by the time she is seven or eight, she is making thread for skirts.

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The boys of this age have no definite economic responsibility, though they may and do assume some on their own initiative. For example, when the men prepare to go fishing, the young four and five-year-old boys assist in minor tasks, such as gathering coconut-midribs to be used as skids for the canoes, or fetch many of the articles which the men wish to use. As the boys grow older they begin to engage in adult activities on their own initiative. Boys seven or eight years old may be seen surf-fishing. The older prepubescent lads and young adolescents practically have a monopoly on one kind of fishing --trap-fishing for small fish. Every morning, and on some afternoons, they are busy catching these fish.

The children not only engage in economic activities, but they also assume adult social responsibilities. For example, when I would enter a courtyard, the young girls would offer me food, or the young boys would offer me part of the fish they had caught--thus manifesting the crucial adult value of hospitality. Again, on one afternoon I was playing with the children when the skies became overcast. The older girls became very concerned about me. If it should begin to rain, would I have some place to go? Perhaps I had better leave now before it begins to rain. The girls soon had to leave, but only after I reassured them that if it did rain I would seek shelter. These young girls were displaying a very important cultural value--concern for the welfare of the guest.

As the children grow older the sexes begin to separate. The boys form all-boy gangs, ranging in age from boys ten or eleven years old through the young married men. The younger members are part of the group, but occupy an inferior status, obeying the older ones. These gangs are completely informal and uninstitutionalized, though they are localized. On the island of Falarik, for example, there are two such gangs, one in Rauau and one in Falarik. Each gang spends its time in a specific canoe-house, where its members may converse, play checkers or cards, make rope or do anything else they desire. At night they assemble in the canoe-houses or along the beach, where they remain until it gets dark, returning home or going to meet their lovers. The outstanding feature about these gangs is that their members are constantly together and manifest a high degree of solidarity. Socially they provide their members with an important peer group from which they can learn and from which they may obtain respect as well as censure.

The young men are accepted members of the society, engaging in activity which their experience permits them. The collection of toddy, for example,

is the exclusive responsibility of the young men. Like the men, the young men make rope, and they participate in all communal fishing, and often fish on their own initiative, particularly at night in the lagoon. In all construction work the young men are most conspicuous, for though they do not plan or direct the activity, they do most of the heavy work. If a roof needs to be relaid, it is the young men who are on the roof, the older men handing them the material from the ground. In the making of canoes the young men and boys assume a large share of the work, though it is usually the less-skilled work. The older of the young men might even make his own canoe, and though he is assisted by an older man, the responsibility is his.

The young men also assume social or economic responsibilities on their own initiative. If a large canoe is unprotected and it begins to rain, they move the canoe into the canoe-house without being told to do so by the older men. If there is a shortage of fish they often go fishing without the older men, particularly at night. In short the young men feel themselves integral members of the society and assume responsibilities for its successful functioning.

Sex

Sexual activity of any kind is taboo until puberty. Sexual activity in children, it is believed, stunts their growth and causes illness. The same prohibition, however, does not hold good for infants. The Ifaluk deny that any sexual activity or interest may be found in infants, for the infant is viewed as a creature who "no savvy nothing"! Nevertheless, I observed many instances of infant masturbation or, at least, of infant genital manipulation. Apparently the adults do not view this behavior in infants as sexual, though masturbation in children is prohibited since it leads to the same consequences as any sexual activity in children—the stunting of growth and illness. Adults themselves do not masturbate their infants, and they were both shocked and amused at the suggestion of such a possibility. The adult practice of smelling the infants' genitalia, however, might well provide an erotic stimulation for the infant.

Once the infant has reached the age of understanding, however, sexual behavior is punished by beating. The prohibition of sexual behavior, however, is not generalized to include adult patterns of sexual modesty. Little children remain completely nude, and adults make no attempt to inculcate in them feelings of shame or modesty in this regard. The children are not clothed until they "savvy shame", and the inception of shame reveals marked sexual differences. Boys remain nude until the age of seven or eight, whereas girls begin to wear grass skirts at about the age of four.

I did not observe masturbation in young children though I have often observed children playing with, or fingering their genitals, with no comment at all from the adults. Some of the young boys, about four or five years of age, would persist in handling their penis for long periods of time, thus

maintaining a constant erection. The older boys or men laugh at this behavior but they do not reprimand them. With one or two exceptions, the children stated they were ignorant of the masturbating behavior of other children, but when Talimeira drew a picture of a masturbating boy, the other boys broke into peals of laughter. Whether or not children engage in overt heterosexual activity is a question I cannot answer. Both adults and children profess to know of no such behavior, and I myself never observed any.

It should be emphasized that since the young children wear no clothes, the sexual differences between the sexes are obvious to them, at least as far as the external genitalia are concerned. They do not wear clothes until they themselves feel a sense of shame in their nudity, and the onset of shame, we

have already pointed out, shows a sex difference.

The children's nudity contributes to sexual exhibitionism, as well as to sexual play. For example, while standing in the midst of a number of playmates, Taurilus, a three-year-old girl, urinated while holding a large coconut midrib, which touched the ground, in her hand. The other children smirked at her, and she stood with a look of enjoyment on her face, enjoying the exhibition. Lezabung, a four-year-old, stood in front of me while I was sitting in a house, then bent backwards so that her genitalia were practically in my face, and began to laugh and giggle. Talemelemar would often walk around with a piece of paper or some other object tied to his penis, and strut about showing it to others.

The awareness of sexual anatomical differences is revealed by other facts. Talemelemar wore a loin cloth for about a week. One evening he came out nude, and Iliakong pointed at his penis and laughed, whereupon he pointed to her vagina and scornfully said, "tingi"--vagina. Hethen went into

the house, and came out wearing a loin cloth.

On another occasion Talemelemar tried everything in his power to draw attention to his penis while in the group of seven other children. He held it in his hands, calling their attention to it; he walked with his back tilted so that his penis was in the air; he tied a coconut leaf strip around it. All of this behavior succeeded in gaining his end--attention. Iliakong was becoming more and more resentful of his position of centrality and tried to gain the attention of the others, but she could not compete with him. She began to roll on the ground, followed by Talemelemar, and then they began to play tag running around a circle. Suddenly she made a grab for his penis, but he repelled her. In what was a final gesture for attention, she suddenly bent down on hands and knees, her buttocks in the air, and urinated with her back to the other children, anus and genitals in full view.

Genitals are often the objects of aggression in child's play. Almost invariably when a child frustrates another child of the opposite sex, the latter will grab for the genitals of the other. Often, however, this is done with no

attempt at punishment.

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Though the genitals are often the objects of aggression, they are seldom the weapon of aggression. The anus is the "sexual" weapon of aggression

among Ifaluk children. For example, if a child is frustrated it often happens that he will bend to the ground with his anus in the air, and simulate a flatulation sound with his mouth. At least once I observed this behavior as a game as well. The boys and girls lay on the ground and one would approach another 'flatulate" in his face, thus evoking loud laughter from the other children.

Though the genitals are seldom used as weapons of aggression, their names may be so used. Talavusman was angry at Talemelemar, and shouted "tingi" at him. Iliakong was angry at a little girl, and said that she copulated.

This evoked great laughter from all the children present.

The children were observed to play only one game which was obviously sexual. A little boy and girl played a game in which they bent their heads between their legs, and then walked backwards toward each other, until they bumped buttocks. They would continue this for a number of times, either bumping buttocks or rubbing them together.

Another form of children's sexual activity is their imitation of the bwarux dance, the sexual dance which a girl performs for her lover. Usually an older person rebukes them for this activity and compels them to stop. But where the very young children imitate this dance, the women encourage, rather than discourage, them and go so far as to instruct them in the motions. They consider this to be highly amusing and break into uproarious laughter.

The women have little compunction about discussing sexual matters in the presence of the girls, nor the men in the presence of boys. Often the men will engage in sexual "horseplay" with the boys. For example, a man may grab at the exposed penis of a young boy, the latter invariably withdrawing with mock-serious threat. Or a man may tickle the boy's penis with a twig. Talemelemar was the constant butt of men's jokes because the shape of his penis was a bit different from that of the other males. Otilivok, a young man of about 18, had the same shaped penis as Talemelemar, and he was often teased by being told that he was "just like Talemelemar." Despite this humorous practice, adults never threaten the child with real castration.*

Once the children begin to wear clothes, they reveal adult attitude toward sex and body exposure. At least twice I was walking along the lagoon where the young girls were washing, and chanced upon them when they were only wearing g-strings since they had taken off their grass skirts prior to entering the water. When they saw me, they became panicky and ran into the water. Another time, a little boy snatched the grass skirt worn by one of the girls. Only the back of the skirt came off, however, but she began to weep and backed into a tree, so that her bare buttocks should not be exposed.

Though the boys and girls may have no sexual or physical contact, there is one relationship—that between siblings of opposite sex—that permits of physical contact, though physical contact between adult siblings is absolutely

^{*} I showed the boys and men a picture of a Melanesian circumcision ceremony, and they were all deeply shocked by the idea. They often asked me to describe the ceremony to them in detail.

taboo. These young siblings often sit on each other's laps, or lie together arm in arm. This behavior may continue until about the age of ten. Usually, this behavior obtains between a girl and her younger brother, rather than between a boy and his younger sister.

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Whether or not children observe adult intercourse is, as we have stated, a moot point. But they do observe, and with great glee, the intercourse of dogs. The boys, young and old, leave anything they may be doing in order to observe the copulation of dogs. The girls, on the other hand, do so surreptitiously. The boys usually hide behind a tree or a house in order to observe the dogs, observing their behavior with much glee. What is most amusing to the boys is the difficulty experienced by some of the dogs in removing their penes from the vaginas of the bitch. The dogs whine and yelp, and the boys howl with glee.

The children's ideas concerning birth and conception are either compounded of private phantasies, or else they are ignorant of these matters. Children and young people, both, seem generally to be ignorant of sexual matters, insisting that they have never asked questions of their parents or of other adults concerning matters of birth and conception. Some of the children were embarrassed by the questions put to them, but most of them simply confessed their ignorance.

A study of the conception theories of 40 children between the ages of four to sixteen or seventeen is summarized in table 5.

Table 5
Children's Theories of Conception

Number of Subjects: 40

| Theory | No. of children |
|-------------|-----------------|
| Intercourse | 3 |
| Food | 3 |
| Man | 3 |
| Chiefs | 2 |
| Good alus | 2 |
| Woman | 2 |
| Child | 1 |
| Ignorance | 24 |

Of the three who attributed conception to intercourse, only one mentioned the semen. One said the woman's blood creates the baby, the other said that the mother's blood and the good alus create the baby.

The other responses are very interesting and we shall comment on them briefly. Of the three who said that the baby is created from food, one said that

the husband gives food to his wife and the baby is created from this food after she has eaten it. The others said that the baby is created from the food of the mother, but did not mention the husband.

Of the two children answering, "man," one said the husband cuts his wife's stomach with a knife and places the baby inside. The other said that three men make a doll from a stick, which then becomes a baby.

Of the two answering, "woman," one said that all women have babies inside their bodies, but that the babies do not become alive until the women marry.

Ignorance concerning birth is almost as great as ignorance concerning conception. The same children interviewed on the question of conception were asked their theories of birth. This study is summarized in table 6.

Table 6
Children's Birth Theories

| Theory of Birth | No. of subjects |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Vagina | 8 |
| Anus | 5 |
| Stomach | 3 |
| Mouth | 1 |
| Ear | 1 |
| Navel | 1 |
| Ignorance | 23 |

Sexual activity, as we have already seen, is taboo for the children, and does not become licit until puberty. In the case of the boys there is no puberty ceremony to symbolize its onset, but there is a ceremony for the girls which is held at the beginning of menses.

When a girl's mother observes that her daughter's breasts are beginning to develop, she informs her to be prepared to menstruate. The fact of menstruation (taurang) is, of course, no secret to the girl. She has witnessed by this time a number of menstrual ceremonies and is cognizant of the monthly menstrual cycle, having observed women spending their menstrual periods in a menstrual hut. The mother not only prepared her for the physiology of menstruation, but instructs her in its serious social implications. She points out that the girl is about to enter adulthood and must prepare herself to assume adult responsibilities and to occupy an adult status. Her carefree days of play must come to an end, she is told, and she must remain in and near the house, observing her mother's activities, learning to make skirts and becoming adept in the other economical responsibilities of women. Should she not take these responsibilities seriously, she is told, people will poke fun at her, and call her a "fool fellow", which means that she will not obtain a

husband. The mother cannot tell her about the meaning and function of menstruation, however, since she does not know herself.

When the girl first notices the onset of menstruation she informs her mother, who in turn informs her husband and the members of her own family. Her husband informs the members of his family. Both families assemble at the home of the girl, bringing red paint, beads, and a skirt. Her father brings her a special gift of coconuts. The girl's entire body is smeared with paint, and she is bedecked with beads, flowers, and a skirt. The ceremony begins by the women sitting in a circle about her, while she stands in the middle, and they sing the following song. If the song is not sung, it is believed that rain will fall in torrents.

The rat climbs up on the clouds,
He drinks the rain so it won't come down.
He drinks: No more! (shouted in crescendo)
Permit not the rain to come.
Today it may fall
No more.
Let the rain stop when it strikes the breadfruit pits.
Away with the clouds
Not a cloud in the sky
Two babies, children of Liol
They paddle out and chase the clouds. (from the north)
They paddle out and chase the clouds. (from the south)
The foreskin, the foreskin
Back with it, back with it
Back with the foreskin.

This song is repeated by the women a number of times, and while they sing, they perform a sitting dance, which is very similar to the bwarux.

At the end of this ritual the girl retires to the menstrual hut of her father's homestead. She is accompanied by the women who participated in the ritual, and they parade down the village path in great merriment, singing as they walk. The girl remains in the seclusion of the menstrual hut for four days, food being brought to her by members of her family. She is allowed to leave the hut in the morning, however, in order to perform her morning ablutions and excretions in the lagoon. When she returns to the hut, she is repainted with the red paint. No male is permitted to enter the hut. Her father goes fishing every day and presents her with his catch. At the end of the four days, she returns to her normal routine. The skirt she has worn is removed, and she again wears the sivsiv, the skirt made of grass and branches.

It is to be noted that this entire ceremony is completely public. Every person in the village knows of the onset of a girl's menstruation. There is neither fear nor stigma attached to menstruation nor is any attempt made to hide it. Furthermore, the public nature of the ceremony announces to all that the girl has become sexually mature and is now eligible for marriage.

This public nature of menstruation obtains in adult life, as well. At the onset of her menstrual period the woman retires to the menstrual hut, where she remains until the end of her period (usually four days). She may sit outside the hut, but she may not enter her own house or the house of any other person, nor may she leave the confines of her own courtyard, except for bathing and excretory purposes. Should she violate this taboo, fish would not enter the lagoon, as they fear the menstrual blood. Furthermore, vegetation would die, and the "chief am very angry at that lady". Should she walk near the southern end of the island of Falarik, where the Rangonax tree grows, a typhoon would ensue.

No male, with the exception of her husband and sons, may enter the menstrual hut. Should this taboo be violated the consequences would be the same as those described above; all vegetation would die and the chief "am very angry at that man". But not even her husband and sons, or even any woman, may enter the hut if they have eaten fish on that day. This taboo applies even to babies. Talimeira and I were talking to Nautrimar, who was menstruating, while her 18 month old daughter was playing nearby. The baby wanted to enter the menstrual hut, and Nautrimar frequently interrupted our conversation to admonish her daughter with a loud "E tabw!" Her daughter had eaten some fish that day.

The menstrual woman is subject to a number of taboos. She may engage only in that work which may be performed in the hut. She may not partake of the food prepared by the women of her household, but must prepare her own food in separate untensils. Furthermore, the food must be prepared on a separate fire since the house fire is taboo. Her husband and children, however, may eat the food that she prepares. She may not eat freshly caught fish and she remains subject to this taboo until she has worked in her taro patch on four separate occasions. Sexual intercourse is taboo during this period. Should the taboo be violated the woman would fall ill and perhaps die. At the end of her period the woman must bathe thoroughly before she can resume her normal routine.

Unlike other aspects of sexual or bodily functioning, menstruation is not a tabooed subject of conversation; rather, it is spoken of freely and openly. There is no feeling of shame or secrecy attached to it. Everyone knows, of course, when a woman is menstruating because she is in the menstrual hut. When I would ask to see a woman, for example, her husband or children would state in matter-of-fact way that she was menstruating and that she could be found in the menstrual hut.

Despite the nonchalance with which menstruation is accepted, the men fear the menstrual blood. When asked the cause of the fear, they answer that some blood might fall on them. At least one man, however, said that should menstrual blood fall on a man, his hair falls out, he receives a perpetual stomach-ache, and he becomes demented.

The beginning of menstruation does not permit the girl to engage in sexual activity. She must wait till her third menstruation, and then she is allowed to engage in sexual intercourse. It seems that the practice, which

obtains in some cultures, of permitting certain sexual prerogatives to adolescents but prohibiting sexual intercourse, is foreign to Ifaluk. Any kind of sexual behavior is prohibited until a certain age, but when sexual behavior is permitted, it includes complete genital sexuality. The reason given for the delay of the girl's sexual behavior until her third menstruation is that prior to this time her vagina is small, and it is believed that if she were to have intercourse before this time her vagina would be injured.

Unlike the girl's first menstruation, which is announced publicly, the boy's first nocturnal emission is unannounced. He reveals it to no one lest

he be shamed, for people would poke fun at him.

The lack of a male adolescent <u>rite de passage</u> renders the question of the age of permissive sexual intercourse a knotty one. Though girls may have intercourse after their third menstruation, and probably do, boys may not have intercourse after the first indication of their sexual virility. My male informants insisted that a young man of the age of Talimeira, who is about 16, is not permitted to engage in sexual intercourse. This statement was corroborated by the young men themselves. If this be true, then there is a notable difference in the age at which the different sexes are permitted sexual activity.

Should a young couple have intercourse before the sanctioned age, both the boy and the girl may be beaten by the girl's parents, and the boy's parents receive a severe chastisement from the chiefs for not having supervised their son's behavior more carefully. The people, however, know of no instance in which this age taboo had been violated, nor did I discover any in the course of our study.

The sleeping arrangements of the household presents a possible complicating situation. The parents, as we have seen, sleep alone—or with their infants—in their mosquito nets. The young single men and women sleep in unisexual groups, but the prepubescent children sleep in one net. It is difficult to believe that children who sleep together in close proximity under one net do not engage in some type of sexual explorations. In the ab-

sence of other evidence, however, this must remain conjecture.

Sexual relationships usually involve the institution of the gomwar. The gomwar relationship is a formally recognized institution, involving certain mutual rights and responsibilities. It might well be characterized as a kind of experimental engagement period—as marriage usually follows a gomwar relationship—between two lovers (gomwar). The male is expected to present his gomwar with gifts of tobacco, fish, skirts, and other objects. Should he go on an overseas voyage, he brings her other gifts. The girl too, may give gifts to the male, though she has little to offer him. Thus, the girl stands to gain by the gomwar relationship, whereas in a casual affair she receives nothing. Ideally, therefore, when a boy asks a girl to be his gomwar and she agrees, she will not permit him to have intercourse with her for the first few nights they sleep together, so that she can be assured that he is sincere about wishing to make her his gomwar and is not looking

for a casual affair. Thus the man indicates the sincerity of his intentions by presenting the girl with gifts, and the girl will terminate the relationship when the man ceases to provide her with gifts, for his behavior indicates that he no longer cares about her, but regards her merely as a sexual partner.

A couple in the gomwar relationship reveal their secret to no one. Eventually the parents may notice the nocturnal absence of their son or daughter and they may inquire after the reason. If they do inquire, they are told. No one else, however, is aware of the relationship, for all courtship is completely clandestine, no man giving any indication at all that a particular girl is his lover. Unmarried youths of opposite sex usually ignore each other, should they meet on a public path, and the same pattern characterizes the behavior of lovers, so that unless the couple is observed in the act of lovemaking, their relationship remains a secret. Should either gomwar reveal the identity of his lover, the other would terminate the relationship. The very word, gomwar, is taboo in conversation in mixed company. From the attitude of the informants, I obtained the feeling that it is almost always the man who violates the trust, not the woman.

The boy visits his <u>gomwar</u> only at night, after the adults are sleeping. If the night is dark, he crawls into the girl's mosquito netting, and remains with her until daybreak, when he returns to his home. If her house is overcrowded they retire to the bush, where they may sleep in a lean-to or on mats spread on the ground.

Sexual behavior is the same for both lovers and married couples so that the subject may be discussed here. Often, before making love, both the man and woman bathe, annoint themselves with coconut oil, and perfume their bodies. As a prelude to love making, the woman may perform a bwarux for her sweetheart or husband. The bwarux is a combined love song and dance, the lyrics of the song being composed by women only.

The following love song is taken from the collection of Burrows. The bwarux is the largest single category of songs, and it is interesting to note the candid language that the woman uses—in glaring contrast to the taboo on any reference to sex in mixed company. Many of the songs are well known, and are sung by the women when men are not around, and by the men and young men when women are not around.

LOVE AND PARTING

Flower of the sevang tree,

Ango that blooms in the taro swamp

My sweetheart comes to me,

Stays close to me.

Our feelings are the same

I understand what he says.

He told me "I'll never leave you."

I asked "truly?", and he said, "I wouldn't lie to you."

He is like a vein in my body; Grips me like breadfruit roots under ground. He loves me too much to leave me. Wherever he goes the thought of me is with him. My love is meat and drink to him. I am like the garland on his head Like the feathers of the tropic bird That flies without alighting. His head is adorned with its plumes, He makes a fine showing at the canoe-house, Or as he goes into the meeting house Katelu. He cannot bear to stay long away from me; He comes around by the back way, Comes through the woods to find me At my house in Falarik. He rejoices at the sight of me, Takes me in his arms. We go into the woods together, Find a pleasant clearing; There we lie down side by side, Where the gabwi grows low about us. I take off my skirt, spread my legs, Show him my genitals. He admires my thighs, Caresses me (thighs or vagina) with his hand, Rubs the hair with his hand. I adore his caresses. He rejoices at the sight of me, Takes me in his arms, We go into the woods together, We prepare a bed and lie down Under the coconut leaves, Out in the woods where nobody comes. We lie face to face, or from behind He clasps me tight. If he leaves me I will be in despair. We go to the little islet Called Arelau (formerly in the channel between Falalap and Falarik. Washed away in a typhoon) Not too close to shore, Separated from the main islands, Where not everybody can come. In the midst of our joy comes a feeling of pain.

I tell him, "You are like my little boy."
People say, "They are always together."

He tells me he is going away, Going to sail for a far land, Going to take a canoe and go. The canoe hoists her sails in the bay by our islet. He gets aboard. Though he is far away I will not forget. He has left his perfume behind; Left it on my skirt, Left it on my body; For a long time it stays. He has gone far away To the island of Lamotrek. As he lies down to sleep In the canoe-house there He dreams of his sweetheart, Dreams I am sleeping beside him, There he is holding me like a child, That we are in the woods together, In our favorite clearing. Always he holds me tight.

He asks me, "What do the people say?"
I tell him, "A man from Rauau
Told me not to come to you.
But I will not leave you,
I pay no attention to what they say."

Flower in my ear, Fragrant ango flower, It is well.

Sexual foreplay may include the kiss (tiluoal), the "French" kiss (enguloa), kissing of the breast and nipple (etut), cunnilingus (erangitingial), and felatio (erangai).

Lovers often employ conventional terms of endearment to express their feelings for each other. The generic term, igatrux (I like you, or love you), is employed to express any feeling of love or fondness existing between any two people, including lovers. The same is true of the superlative, igatrux-amesau, (I love you to death). There are at least two terms, however, that only lovers employ--gamararangi (I love you very much), and atimazei (You are my liver).

Intercourse is effected in three ways--with the woman lying on her back and the man squatting between her legs; the man lying on his back and the woman on top of him; or the man entering from the rear. Orgasm (zepash) is recognized in both men and women, though it was impossible to obtain

information on the relative intensity of passion in men and women. The male informants did agree that there was a quantitative difference in the number of orgasms males and females may enjoy. Men tire after two acts of intercourse, they maintained, but women do not tire.*

In any case it is agreed that the sex drive is very important, though not as important as the food drive, since the frustration of the latter results in death. Perhaps the intensity of the Ifaluk sex drive may be gauged by the statement of some of the men that if middle aged married couples were to have intercourse every night, they would die of exhaustion.

Despite the importance of sex, there are no supernatural techniques of obtaining love or sexual favors, no love magic. The natives said that love magic is found on Truk, but no one had brought it from Truk, since all the people would fear it.

The people know of no cases of homosexuality or of sexual perversions, nor did I observe any. Auelimar, an elderly man, said that there were some people that did not "like" sex, whereupon the other men laughed at him and called him "tuvai", (old man). An interesting practice, however, that is related to this problem, is the very common custom of young men in their teens walking hand in hand. The young men are very affectionate with each other generally. They lie next to each other in the canoe-houses, singing bwarux. They may stand together with their arms encircling each other's waist. And almost universal is their practice of walking down the path, hand in hand. The fact that neither adult men nor small children practice this habit might lead us to suspect that the homosexual component in these young men is fairly high, for obvious reasons: their libidinal drives are high, unlike those of the young children, and unlike the men they find no heterosexual outlet for their drives. Perhaps an outlet is found in these mild homosexual manifestations.

The only sexual contact with animals I observed, though the natives do not interpret it sexually, is the suckling of infant pigs by women. The few times I observed this practice, the women removed the pigs from their breasts as if they were ashamed to be seen by me. On Yap, on the other hand, where this is a common practice, there seems to be no shame attached to this practice.

As one might expect in a culture the size of Ifaluk, there is no prostitution, though some women might sell their favors. For example, a man meeting a woman in the bush might offer her a present if she would have intercourse with him.

Rape (garo) is known to the people, but as far as I know, it has never occurred on Ifaluk. My informants did know of one case of rape that occurred on Satawal, an atoll in the Central Carolines. It seems that eight men, who were working on a canoe in the bush, fell upon a woman and they all had

^{*} The men may merely be ignorant of the fact that women can have intercourse without desiring to.

intercourse with her. This incident is of interest for it indicates that the people do not live a completely insular life, but that news and gossip from the other islands is diffused throughout the area.

A variation of rape, however, called <u>gamou</u> is found on Ifaluk. A man may enter a house at night, and copulate with a woman while she is sleeping. Should she awaken and object to his behavior, she awakens the household. It is of interest to note that the verbal taboo on sexual terms obtains even in this extreme situation. The woman does not say that a man is copulating with her, but states that a man is in the house. The incidence of <u>gamou</u>, however, is negligible.

Masturbation, azirzir, is taboo for children. Certain informants, however, maintained that children violate the taboo. They also maintained that the children engage in mutual masturbation and that women also engage in mutual cunnilingus, but that the men do neither. (The informants were men.) However, they did recall three cases of male masturbation. A man in Faraulep, one of the Central Caroline islands, was discovered by two women masturbating in a tree. They began to tease him, and he attempted to distract their attention by shouting that a ship was coming, and that he had climbed the tree to observe the ship. The same man was once masturbating in a tree, and the branch on which he was sitting broke, so that he fell to the ground. These stories were told with great laughter by the informants. A man on Rauau on Ifaluk had bored a small hole in the wall of his house, which he used as a masturbatory device, until one day he was observed by some women.

Sex is a favorite topic of conversation, among the men and women both, though it is strictly taboo in mixed company. The men, young and old, when sitting about in the canoe-houses in the evening sing bwarux, though only the women are supposed to sing them. And there is the almost universally-found ribbing and kidding of others with respect to sex. Most males were very happy to talk to me about sexual relations, and any group of informants were in constant good humor, kidding and ribbing each other and me throughout our discussions. As Auelimar, an elderly informant put it: "No can leave talk about women." The young men were always eager to learn of sexual practices in America, as were adult informants. Women, when alone, are constantly singing bwarux. When the men make the statuettes which they sell to the ships, there is usually some kidding about the length of the penis. In one case Taualimen was carving a man with a long penis, and was ribbed about it every day. One day while this kidding was going on, Otilivak went to a corner to carve something, and finally returned with a carved vagina, which he gave to Taualimen.

Despite their interest in sexual matters, and despite their--in terms of Western standards--freedom in sexual behavior and in dress, the Ifaluk reveal a strong puritanical streak. First, they react with great feelings of shame to exposure of their genitalia, even to members of their own sex. When emerging from the lagoon after bathing, for example, the men cover

their genitalia with their hands, so that they may not be observed by the other men present. The Japanese shocked the sensibilities of the Ifaluk by bathing in the nude.

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This sense of shame extends to one's own children, before whom they would never appear nude, but it does not include infants since the infant is still a "fool boy". This shame concerning the exposure of the genitalia is not generalized to other parts of the anatomy, however. Women feel no sense of shame concerning the exposure of their breasts which, of course, are never covered, nor are they ashamed of the physical signs of pregnancy. Men are not shamed by the exposure of their buttocks which, of course, are never concealed since their loin-cloths are tied by being brought between their buttocks.

The great shame experienced as a result of physical exposure is magnified by being observed in any sexual practice. The shame of being observed while copulating would be almost too great to bear. Should anyone, inadvertently, observe such behavior he is pledged to secrecy by the other person with the offer of a gift.

This puritanism is carried to great lengths. A man would never dream of kissing his wife goodbye, not because kissing does not constitute a display of affection, but because of the shame of being seen engaging in sexual activity. No man, for this same reason, would even hold his wife's hand in public. Our adolescent pattern of hand-holding would shock any Ifaluk. As a result any overt form of sexual activity or display of fondness between the sexes in public is precluded.

This means that one never sees overt affection displayed between spouses; but to interpret the absence of such behavior as indicating a lack of affection would be midleading. In the intimacy of their homes, affection between spouses is shown, and patently felt. In public a wife serves her husband without receiving any expression of gratitude, but in private this pattern is quite different. One afternoon, for example, Tom and I were administering a battery of tests, and his wife came up bringing coconuts to drink. Tom was very pleased at this gesture, his face beamed with pleasure, and he exclaimed: "My wife, my wife! Very good that my wife." On another occasion I was administering a test to his wife and she did not respond very well. Tom became quite angry at her, so that her feelings were hurt. When he perceived this he immediately became apologetic for his treatment of her and attempted to soothe her.

The same puritanical attitudes are displayed with reference to excretory behavior. All people excrete in the lagoon, and though their faces are in public view their behavior is concealed. But if a person, even of their own sex sees them urinating or defecating on land, with genitalia exposed, they are terribly ashamed. If a man must urinate, and other men are present, he

^{*} Despite the exposure of the female breast it possesses erotic value, and is fondled and kissed in sexual foreplay.

bends down on his haunches, so that his penis is concealed. If a person is in a group and must defecate or urinate, he will not tell where he is going when he leaves. He says, "I am going over there." Flatulation evokes the same response. Should a person flatulate in public, people laugh at him, and he is greatly ashamed.

This puritanical attitude towards public display of sex extends to verbal behavior as well. All sexual terms, whether anatomical or physiological, are taboo in mixed company. But the young men and boys have devised a special sexual vocabulary which enables them to talk about sexual matters without betraying that fact to others. They employ one term, chagiach, which, as far as I could determine, is a generic term referring to any aspect of sexual anatomy or physiology, the meaning of which depends upon the context. Aside from this generic term, there are two specific terms so employed. The native words for penis and vagina (gai and tingi, respectively) which are taboo, are replaced by the terms, tamoneliman and tamolelitrowut, in which the root tamon means "chief", and the roots man and trowut mean "man" and "woman" respectively.

Neither of the above substitutions reflect a distinction between polite and obscene forms of words. This distinction does not exist in Ifaluk since all sexual terms are taboo. On the other hand, there is one term which does have a socially acceptable polite term, as well as one which is taboo; that term is gomwar. Gomwar, the word for lover, is taboo in mixed company, but if the occasion calls for its mention, a circumlocution-traliamukapat-is used. My knowledge of the language is inadequate to break this down into its component roots. The men insisted that it was merely a nonsense term. On the other hand, tral means "water", and kapat means "to speak."

This same verbal taboo applies to excretory references as well. No mention may be made of them in mixed company, not even in the presence of one's own wife. Tom's brother-in-law, for example, was ill, and I brought him some medicine. I wanted to know whether his bowel movement was regular, and asked Tom to ask him. Tom tried, but he stuttered and could say nothing. Finally, he asked his wife, who was sitting with us, to leave the room. After she left, he could address my question to his brother-in-law.

This taboo on overt sexual verbal or physical behavior does not apply in the case of interaction between adults and children. During an interview with Lesaligesia, a 12 year-old girl, Tom fondled her breasts throughout the interview. She sat through it impassively. He then took from his basket a tube of lipstick I had given him, and pushing the lipstick itself through the tube, he told her that she should show it to the women, and that they would laugh because it resembles a penis. The next day, while we were interviewing her sister, she came into the canoe-house. Tom told her that she should go to the lagoon to bathe so that she would have her first menstrual flow, and then she could get married. Lesaligesia became sulky at this jibe, while Tom and her sister went into peals of laughter, thinking this very funny.

Another day we were interviewing Tavelegia, a prepubescent girl. Tom asked her if she wanted a husband, and she said no. He then said that she should marry a dog. Later, while we were still talking, he told her to put her finger up his anus. And still later, when she said she would have to leave to "make a skirt", he said to her that she should "make my faeces."

Sexual verbal taboos between different age groups within the same sex do not exist at all. For example, women will sing bwarux, with all their candid sexual references, in the presence of their young daughters, or any other girls, for that matter. The men sitting about the canoe-houses will speak of sexual matters in the presence of boys of any age.

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Though sexual terms are taboo in mixed company, neither they nor excretory terms are employed as obscenities, with but one exception. This is: "Go copulate with your mother (or father)." The only other obscenity is ganizin, literally, "I (give food) to my mother." This is obscene, say the natives, because it invokes the name of one's mother in vain, which is bad. The phrase "go copulate with your mother (father)" is used by the children when taunting one another. Ganizin is used often, and is equivalent to our "damnit." If one hits his fingers with a hammer, for example, or a fish escapes, or a flint will not give a spark, the person will often express his anger or frustration by muttering, ganizin. In other words, it is a means of dissipating aggressive energy.

Though sexual mores are liberal, there are periods in which all sexual activity is taboo. Should a school of fish enter the lagoon during the day, and the men spread their nets in the passage, leaving them; over-night, no sexual activity is permitted that night. Should a man violate the taboo, his spear, directed at the fish, would enter his own body. During the season of nocturnal torch-light fishing, which lasts for about three months, the men sleep in the canoe-houses, and may have no social or sexual intercourse with the women. The men bring fish and toddy to their families, but leave them at the door of the house, and may not enter. The taboo extends for one month after the end of the period, making a total of four months. Should a person violate the taboo, a shark or swordfish will kill him, or an alus of the sea will make him ill.

Marriage

Unmarried lovers either marry after some determinate period or else they terminate the affair. Should the girl become pregnant, the couple will usually get married. The problem is complicated, however, if the father of the child is already married. It is seldom that he would leave his wife and family to marry his lover, so that the child is called Sevuliwaliwuliwud, literally, "from the root of a tree."

Normally, there are two criteria employed in the selection of a spouse: economic and sexual. In choosing a spouse both the man and woman (ideally) weigh the economic skills of the future mate. A man who is a poor fisherman

or who is otherwise economically unskilled, or a woman who cannot cook well or who is not adept at making skirts, would be considered very poor marriage risks. There is at least one woman in Ifaluk who has never been married because the natives insist she is a "fool fellow"; that is, she is domestically unskilled. There have been two cases of divorce for the same reason.

The second criterion employed in choosing a spouse is sexual attractiveness, though it was difficult to obtain the Ifaluk conception of sexual beauty, since there is great variability within the culture itself. Tom referred often to the small breasts of a woman portrayed in the Thematic Apperception Test, which he admired greatly, and many men commented favorably on the "big" (that is, thick) legs of another woman portrayed in the Thematic Apperception Test. But all questioning on this score produced only animated discussion and much laughter. Sarfert, in his discussion of sex, says that women remove their pubic hair because they are considered unaesthetic by the men. Inquiry did not bear out this statement. It is true that some women remove their pubic hair, but for different reasons. Long pubic hair, they say, may injure the man's penis during intercourse. Furthermore, since the women bathe in the lagoon while wearing their skirts, the water on the pubic hairs may not dry when they emerge, and if this is noticeable, they would be greatly embarrassed.

An ecological study of the island of Falarik reveals an interesting phenomenon: Of the sixty-six marriages in the genealogies (the total number of marriages on this island), fifty-five, or more than eighty-three percent, were consummated between individuals living in the island. Only eleven individuals married a person from the island of Falalap; and of the fifty-five, sixty-three percent chose mates from within their own districts. This high percentage of local endogamy means that a high percentage of the men marry the "girl who lives next door." This has two important implications. It means that all the people of a district are close relatives, related either through birth or marriage. This partly explains the degree of intimacy and cooperation that exists among them. But it also means that one's spouse may have been a childhood playmate with whom one has grown up, or a young girl whom one has seen grow from infancy, whose every character and personality trait is well known. The Ifaluk enter into marriage, therefore, with an intimate knowledge of their mates.

That one's wife may be a woman whom the husband has observed to grow from infancy is revealed by the fact that the ages of the mates are often widely separated. When we first arrived in the island, I was struck by the great discrepancy between the number of young men as contrasted to young women. There were a considerable number of single men, but practically no single women in their age range. When I had asked Talimeira to suggest names of tari-veivel who might draw for me, he replied that there were none. It was not until many months had passed that I realized my error; I had guessed incorrectly at the ages of the young married women. When I knew the people better and had obtained information on relative chronological ages,

I discovered that the young women who corresponded in age to the young single men were all married. Most of the young women marry in early adolescence, whereas the boys do not marry until their early twenties. This means that the young girls marry older men, men who may be removed from them by one generation. This also indicates the precocious maturation of the girl, as compared to the boy. Girls that I had thought were in their early twenties were really the younger sisters of young men that I had thought were younger than these girls. This differential rate of maturation continues into old age. Women age much more rapidly than men, so that middle-aged women look like old women, as compared to their husbands whomaintain a youthful appearance.

Wherever possible the men prefer to marry a virgin, but since virginity is obviously rare, what is preferred is a woman who has not had too many affairs. The reason for this preference is that a man might be shamed by the taunts of her former lovers, who would point out that he had married a woman with whom all of them had had sexual relations.

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In choosing a spouse, of course, one must not violate the incest taboos (was), which include marriage with known relatives on the father's side as well as within the matrilineal clan. The tabooed individuals, then, are parents, siblings--real and classificatory--and clan members. One's classificatory sisters include one's mother's brothers' daughters and father's sisters' daughters. Incest, the people insist, does not occur, nor do the genealogies reveal any cases. Some of the men remembered one case of incest that occurred in the past. The man was seized by the people and was thrown into the ocean to drown. The reasons for incest being "very, very bad" are unknown. Should a man commit incest, "all people and chief say, 'very bad' man'", because "all people afraid of it."

The incest taboo extends even to behavior that might be interpreted symbolically as incest. Whistling is taboo in the presence of women because a man calls his lover at night by whistling for her. Thus whistling has a sexual connotation, and should a man whistle, his sister might hear him and could interpret it as a sexual advance.

When a couple decides to marry, each party tells his parents of the decision. If the parents object, the young people may ignore their objections. The only consequence of their objection is that the couple will not live in the girl's parental home, should her parents object. The incidence of parental objection, however, is negligible.

On a day decided in advance, there is an exchange of gifts between the two families. The girl's mother brings food, consisting of cooked taro and breadfruit, to the boy's parents, after which the boy's family offers coconuts to the girl's family. The boy himself brings gifts of rope, toddy and fish to the parents of the girl. The food brought to the house of the boy is then distributed among members of his clan. In the event that the girl is widowed, the boy's family brings gifts of food and skirts to the family of her deceased husband.

Should either family feel that it had given less food than the other, it will add to its gift the following day. However, there is no public ceremony or religious rite, the exchange of food consituting the celebration of the marriage.

There are two additional ways of obtaining a wife, both known as the gavato, though the incidence of both is small. One is child betrothal, the other is infant betrothal. In the case of child betrothal a young man may fall in love with a young girl, who has not yet reached puberty, and may wish to marry her. Being ashamed to speak to her parents of the matter, he commissions his parents to make the overtures. His mother informs the girl's mother of her son's desire, and the latter responds in the culturally patterned etiquette, that her daughter is "a fool fellow, no savvy nothing." The boy's mother replies that this should be no obstacle because she will take the girl into her household and train her in the domestic arts. Should the girl's parents agree, she goes to live in the boy's house, and is treated as an aivam in the house. If the girl is disinclined to accept this arrangement, she is not compelled to acquiesce. But if she agrees the two households become closely knit, periodically exchanging food until the girl has had her third menstruation, at which time she and the boy are considered married. The girl may consent to the arrangement at first, but after attaining puberty she may change her mind. In such an event her parents exert strong influence on her by claiming that they would be shamed if she did not comply. "Every day and every year that boy give you and me chow, you no ashamed? I ashamed. Suppose you no take for husband, I go away." This argument may suffice to convince her.

Infant betrothal is the second form of gavato. Should two women give birth to babies in the birth hut at the same time, they may agree (if the babies are of opposite sex) that their children, when grown, should marry each other. As soon as the children can talk, they are informed of their mother's compact. However, when they come of age they are permitted to ignore the parental agreement.

Marriage is monogamous, though some informants said that in the past a chief could have two wives. But today not even the chiefs practice polygyny because "we don't do that in this place."

Marriage is usually matrilocal, though on the first night of their marriage the couple sleeps in the house of the boy's parents. They may remain longer, if they choose, but after some lapse of time, they move to the home of the girl's parents, where they take up residence. Of sixty-two marriages studied in the genealogies for the island of Falarik (which includes the two districts of Rauau and Falarik) forty-two, or sixty-three percent, were matrilocal. The remaining twenty-four were patrilocal, autolocal, or aivam-local.

The newly-weds resume their normal routine after marriage, there being no analogue to the western honeymoon. The informants were intrigued by the description of the American honeymoon, and indicated their approval by profuse "e ratr" (very good). "One week, only chow, only copulate."

When I asked a group of informants why people marry, my question provoked great laughter. The men looked at me with amazement, as if I were incredibly naive, and then Auelimar, the oldest of the men raised his hands towards me, and forming a circle with the forefinger and thumb of his left hand, thrust the forefinger of his right hand into it--an obvious symbol of intercourse. When the laughter had died away, I pointed out that men and women could have sexual relations without marriage, so there must be other reasons, as well, for marriage. They replied that if a person did not marry, people would talk about him, implying that the unmarried state is not quite normal. And all would ask him, "Who will give you chow?" This is a recurrent theme, in the case of both males and females -- a spouse is necessary in order to obtain food. In a culture which has a strict sexual division of labor, with respect to the production and preparation of food, this factor does assume great importance. Yet there seems little doubt but that sex is the preeminent motive for marriage, other factors being equal. This is indicated further by the response to the question as to whether the institution of marriage to inanimate objects is practiced. "Suppose she no alive, what he copulate?" was the immediate response, rather than, "suppose she no alive, who cook for him?"

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Divorce, zamotalax, is infrequent, though it is easy to obtain. There are eleven divorces out of 66 marriages studied in the genealogies. To obtain a divorce the dissatisfied partner merely informs his spouse of his decision. There is no ceremony or legal procedure involved, nor any property settlement. The children, of course, remain with the mother. Though divorce is easy, the culture recognizes certain basic causes. (1) The spouse does not provide his/her parents-in-law with food. (2) One spouse has a lover, and refuses to leave him/her. (3) Either spouse is economically unskilled; the man is a poor provider, or the woman is a poor cook, so that when visitors arrive from other islands, her husband can not offer them food, and is consequently ashamed. (4) One of the spouses is sexually attracted to another person. If he is still young, his parents will exert pressure on him not to abandon his spouse. "No. You chow fine face, fine body? Your wife look out for me. She (his new love) look out?"

An analysis of the eleven cases of divorce reveals that three were instituted by women, eight by men, and in two of the three cases they were motivated by the husband's becoming psychotic. (malebush). Thus the husband generally divorces the wife. The reasons given for the eleven divorces were as follows:

Desire for different spouse:
Infidelity:
Mental illness:
Domestic ineptitude:
Unknown:
Tour cases (2 men, 2 women)
Three cases
Two cases
One case (2 men, 2 women)
One case

Divorced couples are very cordial to each other, as are the old and new mates. They fish together, work together, and care for each other's children.

Even in cases in which a man has divorced his wife for infidelity, the relationship between him and the man who seduced his wife and who married her after her divorce, is warm and friendly. Both men are equally concerned about the children the woman bore the first husband, both take care of them and raise them.

From the above discussion it is apparent that marital infidelity does occur. As a matter of fact, its incidence is quite high. My informants insisted that almost every married person--man and woman--has a lover. Now these informants may have been wrong, since all sexual activity is concealed, as we have seen, and they may have been guilty of personal projections. It is important to know, of course, whether married persons do or do not have lovers, but even if they do not, the statement of the informants is of psychological importance, since it shows that they think it is true. That infidelity does occur, and that the people are disturbed by it is indicated by a number of songs collected by Burrows, in which a woman laments the infidelity of her husband. The motivations of infidelity are not too clear. Tom, for example, is married to a woman, much younger than himself, and very attractive. He is very attached to her, praises her highly, and is generally very affectionate towards her. Nevertheless, one evening I met him walking from his home, his hair combed, and his body perfumed. When I asked him where he was going, he became sheepish, and would not say. But he asked me not to walk past his own home, lest I see his wife. When I asked why he did not wish me to see her, he confessed that he was on his way to a liaison with a woman, and had told his wife that he was going out to see me.

That evening, he came to our tent, very disappointed. The woman had not appeared. He was indignant, because she had lied to him. She had promised him that she would meet him, but did not. He had waited in the bush for her, and finally left, because it was getting dark, and he was afraid of the alus.

There seems little doubt, then, that married people do have affairs, and it does seem to be taken for granted by the people that anyone, including one's own spouse, is capable of having an affair with another person. This knowledge creates no apparent jealousy or friction. If the person is indiscreet, however, and his affair becomes known, his spouse will then insist that he terminate the affair, not because of jealousy, but because of shame. Infidelity constitutes an implicit aspersion on the mate's sexual ability and attractiveness, and it is a blow to his ego that others should know.

Consciously, there seems to be no "battle of the sexes." The men claimed that women are more important than men ("more high"), because they "give people", that is, they give birth to children. "No have woman, no have people. (Therefore), man take talk for woman." (That is, a man will obey the woman). But this statement seemed to contradict some overt practices. For example, a woman who passes a group of men lowers her head in the same fashion that all people do when they pass the fannap. When a woman walks from one end of the village to another, she takes the back path whereas men

take the front one. When men gather to eat, women may not join them. Women are not permitted in the canoe-houses. If husband and wife should walk through the village together, the wife always follows behind him, never precedes him. But what is most impressive with respect to this differential treatment of the sexes is the behavior which occurs at each religious ceremony. The religious ceremonies are usually held on Falalap. A channel of about 30 yards separates the two islands. Ordinarily the people walk across the channel, since the water at its highest point only reaches to their chests. Now the people "dress-up" for the ceremonies, with new skirts or loin cloths, painted faces, flower garlands and feather head-dresses. It is understandable that they do not wish to get wet. Consequently, what amounts to a ferry service is set up, with the young men transporting passengers across the channel in canoes. But the passengers are almost invariably men! Since time is short and there are not too many canoes, the men ride across, but the women wade through the water, despite the fact that the men would dry off sooner than the women, since they wear only loin cloths.

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The men resolved this apparent contradiction between their discriminatory behavior and their claim that women enjoy greater prestige by pointing to the difficult and dangerous character of man's work. "Man work strong, woman no can work, for too hard. He work on canoe and house for woman. Very hard work that man. Woman-work more down. Man work on tree, maybe he fall down: he catch fish, maybe shark cut him." This is most interesting in view of the actual fact which is that women work much harder and longer than men. Women almost invariably have work to perform, whereas the men spend many hours sitting about in the canoe-houses. Men's work theoretically may be more dangerous, but no man has ever fallen from a tree, and there is only one known case in which a man was attacked by a shark. These reasons, therefore, are patent rationalizations. At any rate they insisted that despite the differential treatment accorded to men women are "more high" because they bear children.

The day following this discussion with the men, I was struck by the idea that the stress on the woman's role as bearer of children might have further implications for the problem of physiological paternity. I asked them if the reason they gave for woman's superiority is tenable, in the light of what they had told me about man's share in procreation. This question made them all sit up. They were completely taken aback, and answered as a man: "You talk true. We talk lie. Man more high. You throw away that paper for yesterday. You put in book, man more high."

This sudden reversal, of course, was quite interesting, and the next day, I made inquiries among the women to obtain their evaluation of relative sexual status. The women universally agreed that men enjoy greater status, as is indicated by the fact that a woman must obey her brother. Though there is no full-blown avunculate here, as we have seen, the brother's relationship to his sister and to her children is intimate and apparently authoritative as their answer reveals.

This answer of the women was doubly interesting, because a few months later in discussing this same matter with the chiefs, they said that men are "more high", * and they attributed this fact to the same reason given by the women -- a man can give orders to his sister, but she cannot give orders to him. By this time I had become sufficiently intimate with the chiefs to be able to point up difficulties or problems in their interpretations. I asked whether the two factors of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence did not indicate female superiority. This, they responded triumphantly, proves the superiority of men. For if the only inhabitants of a house were women, they would live miserable lives; the houses would be small, and there would be no fish to eat, since canoe and house construction, as well as fishing, is man's work. Thus if there were no matrilocal residence, the women would only "chow chow, but no chow fish". The fallacy in the argument is obvious, but I admitted its validity, and then pointed out that they had answered only the matrilocal, not the matrilineal objections. To this they looked quite chagrined, and finally said, "you talk true". They were then silent for a long time, as if they were all meditating. Finally Wolpetau, the highest ranking chief, came forth with a new argument, which we all accepted as incontrovertable. Men are superior to women because only men are chiefs whereas women cannot be chiefs, unless there are no men in the chiefly lineages.

Both men and women recognize the existence of differential sexual reactions, or temperaments, and numerous men and women, when questioned, agreed on the following facts. Women are more sensitive than men; they are hurt much more readily, so that their sorrow at the loss of a relative is much greater. This accounts, they say, for their behavior at funerals at which they scratch their face and hair. The funeral behavior is culturally patterned, so that it is interesting to note the use made of a culturally expected behavior pattern to explain a characteristic of feminine temperament. Women love children more intensely than men. This is shown in the songs collected by Burrows, many of which are mother's lamentations for their dead children or praise of them. Men are more prone to anger than women, and their anger is more intense, for it cannot be appeased by their wives, whereas women's anger can be assuaged by their husbands. Men are braver then women; the latter fear such dangers as typhoons, sharks and airplanes, more than do men. Women succumb to illness more readily than men and they take to bed at small provocation, whereas men continue to go about their work.

^{*} It is of interest to note the conceptualization of social status in spatial terms, which is similar to the usage in English.

Old Age and Death

As far as I can determine old age brings neither greater nor less prestige. It is true that the old are not as economically useful as the young, but it seems that the subsistence economy is adequate to provide for them. At any rate their relative economic inactivity is not viewed as a drain on the economy. At no time did I see the slightest indication of resentment against an older person because of inability to perform many of his former tasks. On the other hand, their greater age is not, ipso facto, an indication of greater wisdom. A wise person, it is believed, retains his wisdom as he ages; a mediocre person is no wiser because of age. Formally, therefore, there seems to be little if any cultural evaluation placed on old age. It must be remembered, moreover, that this is an egalitarian society in which ascribed statuses are about equal, and that only in achieved statuses are differences in prestige to be found. Differential prestige status is almost always a function of achievement in a specific activity. This being the case, the status continues into old age.

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On the other hand, though the culture does not evaluate age in terms of invidious distinctions, the aging person himself may experience the process of aging as more or as less pleasant than youth. The men say that the reactions to old age are not similar for all. An old man usually cannot marry a young girl, he cannot engage in many kinds of work, the Japanese would not hire him for labor, and thus he could make no money. On the other hand, the old man may enjoy prestige and respect, and young people may turn to him for advice, for if he had been wise when a younger man, he will "savvy many thing" now that he is old.

Though there is disagreement concerning the process of aging, there is no dispute concerning the undesirability of death. Death is not welcomed, despite the native eschatology which assures everyone of continued life after death. People are afraid to die, say many people, because they no longer remain in Ifaluk, and are consequently separated from their families.

If a person is seriously ill, his relatives, both matrilineal and patrilineal assemble in his home--or the home in which he is being cared for*--for public wailing and the singing of gapeng, the religious songs and hymns. When the person is close to death, a <u>bwarux</u>, or love song, is sung and, interestingly enough, with the same bodily movements that are employed by the singer in a love contest. It is also interesting that this is the only time in which a <u>bwarux</u> is sung in the presence of both sexes.

This period of wailing continues every evening until the person either recovers or dies. The people go about their normal tasks during the day, showing no indication of sorrow, but return again at night to participate in the rite.

^{*} We have already seen that if a person has a prolonged illness, he is moved from his own home to the home of another person, it being believed that the changing of his domicile will aid in his recovery.

The wailing scene is perhaps the most impressive experience to be witnessed in Ifaluk. A brief excerpt from field notes may serve to convey the impressive-

ness of this experience.

"We have just come from one of the most depressing sights I have ever seen. The 'sick man' hasbeen mourned regularly every night for one week. During the day, however, there has been no indication of sorrow, the family going about its daily routine with no apparent concern. This evening Tom came to inform us that the man was very ill and that the people would be wailing tonight, as he was not expected to live. In fact a new loin cloth had been prepared, in which he would be wrapped should he die. After eating our dinner, we hastened to the scene of the wailing. As we approached the house, there was no one in the courtyard except for Tom who had been waiting for us; but the sound of weird and mournful wailing met our ears. The melody seems to be in a minor key and is very monotonous in its pattern, the same theme being repeated over and over again. But what it lacks in complexity and variation, it makes up for in total effect. It is tragedy itself, penetrating to the very soul."

As we entered the courtyard we were met by Tom, who brought us to the doorway, from which we could view the scene. The house, illuminated by a single, flickering candle, was filled with wailers, who were seated about the sick man. The latter was lying in the center of the room with a flower garland on his head. The song being sung was a bwarux, and as the people sang, their bodies and arms would weave with the rhythm of the song. Each phrase would end with a loud, mournful, sob. At regular intervals the women would beat their chests with great force, the mother being particularly violent, tearing at her face with her fingernails. This behavior is patterned, of course, and it is difficult to tell whether the grief is genuine or merely stylized wailing. Babies and infants are brought to these wailing ceremonies. Whether or not the wailing is stylized is immaterial so far as its effect on the children is concerned. The abrupt change from the ever-friendly, smiling and laughing adults, to the wailing, sad, ones must leave a deep impression on them.

Immediately prior to his death, the female relatives of the sick person assemble to make a pandanus mat, in which he is to be wrapped at death. In the meantime a new lavalava is brought, and as soon as the death is announced the male relatives bring huge quantities of rope, in which the body will be tied.

At death the soul is believed to leave the body through the mouth. Five physical signs are employed as signs of death. The eyes do not blink; when opened, only the whites of the eyes are seen, the pupils having receded under the eyelids; there is absence of movement in the belly, which indicates lack of breathing; the mouth hangs open, but the teeth are clenched tight; the body exudes excreta.

When the person is pronounced dead, the wailers mourn over the corpse with the singing of an <u>arueru le'zari</u>, a lament for the loss of a child. The following is an example of an arueru.

Lament for Death of a Son

Flower of the <u>aro</u>
And the <u>wut</u>, that grow by the house
Near the gable end.
What if he should get worse?
Why should this sickness come to him?
I am afraid he may die .
He lies there and cannot get up.

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Oh, now he lies dead!

I rush out beside the lagoon
Searching everywhere for him
But he is nowhere to be seen.
He will not come to the house as he used to,
If he were alive he would be here
Making everybody laugh with his jokes.
His mouth had a charming curve
As he talked and laughed merrily.
A fine beard he had
And beautiful eyebrows.

Missing him is like a fire
That burns my heart and eyes.
I am worn with sorrow.
No one can see my beautiful boy.

What a fine man he was! Expert in all many crafts. He worked hard in his plantation Clearing out the weeds. His place was over on the seaward side. I remember what pride he took in it. Go there now and what a difference! The wind comes against my face And blows on my body. What if that wind were my boy come back to me? I go along the shore Walking in the sunlight To the bay where he used to go And around to the other side. I sit down and there I see him As if in a dream. I know it is he before my very eyes. He is not dead, he is alive.

He sits down beside me,
I think, what can I give him?
I call out come to me, it has been so long.
Tumeric from Truk, with its rare red
And the white paint I give him.
He puts it on his hands, then rubs it on his face.
Oh his beautiful face and body.
What a lovely youth!
Flower about my neck,
Fragrant aro flower,
My precious ointment!

Should a person die in the early part of the day, the mourning is brief, and he is buried the same day. However, should he die in the late afternoon or evening, he is not buried until the next day and the mourning lasts all night.

While the mourning is in process, friends and relatives are busy with the burial preparations. The corpse's face is painted red, and it is dressed in a new cloth. The men who have brought rope are engaged in making a long ropenet, in which the body is to be wrapped.

The contrasting behavior of the mourners and non-mourners is very interesting. The mourners wail throughout this entire proceedings, and often get into a state of complete frenzy. This is particularly true of the person's mother and spouse. The mother and spouse beat their breasts and scratch their faces with such ferocity that they have to be restrained by other persons who forcibly hold their arms behind their backs. The others, however, seem little affected by the scene. The young men inhibit their usual horseplay, but the solemnity that marks an American funeral, for example, is completely lacking. The men working on the rope-net seem quite gay, and they joke as they work. The young children of the deceased seem unaware of the death of their parent, and continue to play and laugh, though the adults periodically attempt to restrain any undue boisterousness and do not permit the children the usual run of the courtyard.

This raises a serious psychological problem. Is the intense mourning of the immediate adult family of the deceased a genuine experience, or is it all "culturally patterned"? Since we observed only four funerals, and the pattern in three was the same, I tentatively adopted the hypothesis that both factors entered into the behavior. Questioning of the people, as well as other evidence, seemed to indicate that the hypothesis has some degree of validity. Many people stated that all women express their mourning by tearing at their faces and breasts, and that if any woman did not do so, she would be criticized by the people as not showing sufficient love for the deceased. This would seem to indicate that the overt behavior itself is learned. But what about the private emotions of the mourners? The feeling, not the behavior, is the variable factor. There is evidence that indicates that the feeling, in some cases at least, is very intense. When Nabwor died, her husband was so deeply affected

that he could not perform the culturally patterned wailing, and he broke down completely and sobbed like a baby. Here we see complete personal disorganization, so that the behavior becomes a pure expression of personal feeling rather than being channeled in the cultural mode. In another instance Arivimae, a young married man in his late twenties, burned the house of his dead mother the day after her funeral, as an expression of his deep feelings. This extreme display of emotion indicates quite clearly the intensity of his feeling, since the burning of the house of a deceased person is not a culturally ordained practice.

When the rope-net is completed, the corpse is wrapped in it. The corpse is covered with the pandanus mat, tied with thick cord, and is then carried to the canoe to be taken out to sea by the male kin of the deceased. The mourners inside the house follow the procession to the canoe. The body is then wrapped in what seems like endless yards of rope, and is weighted down with stone, prior to burial in the ocean. The female mourners, in the meantime, have entered the lagoon and continue their wailing, but the men do not continue theirs. While the body is being tied, members of the family break the utensils used by the deceased during his illness.

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When all is in readiness, the sail is raised and the body is taken out to sea, to receive an ocean burial. The women continue their wailing in the lagoon until the canoe has disappeared from sight. The canoe used for this purpose may not be returned to the canoe-house, but must remain outside for four days, and may not be used.

Ocean burial is not the rule in the Central Carolines. Only Ifaluk disposes of the dead in this manner, while the others bury their dead in the ground. The people say that there are two reasons for this practice. If the corpse is not removed from the island, a typhoon will destroy the island. If the corpse is buried in the ground, its body fluids will mix with the soil and cause the vegetation to die. It should be noted that the fear of the presence of the dead is related to two of the people's most severe anxieties—lack of food and typhoons.

After the burial a number of taboos and practices are observed by the family of the deceased. The "pall bearers" may not sleep in their own homes, but must sleep in the house of the deceased for four days.* Their food is prepared on a separate fire, and they may neither take from nor give to another a light. Talimeira, for example, would not share with Woromai the burning cigarette I had given him because the latter had been a pall bearer. This taboo on the sharing of fire seems to hold for members of the family, as well. Tom refused to light the cigarette of Novogopok, the mother of a man who had just died, because "I am afraid dead man".

The immediate family of the deceased does no work for ten days, and for four days it prepares no food; but food is brought by friends and relatives. The males may not climb coconut trees to obtain either coconuts or toddy.

^{*} Four is the sacred number in Ifaluk. Almost all abstention taboos, as well as many other acts of supernatural import, involve the number four.

After the four day taboo on cooking and tree climbing, the male kin of the deceased bring baskets of coconuts to his household. The immediate family shave their heads as a sign of mourning, and the mother continues to wail for the deceased every morning and evening for four days. The mourning is completely patterned, taking place in the lagoon, and consisting of the wailing recital of an arūerū.

There is a general taboo, which extends for an indeterminate time after death, on the mentioning of the name of the dead. The immediate family may never mention his name, nor may a stranger mention it in their presence. I saw a little child receive a beating from its mother for repeatedly using the name of his dead father, after she had warned him not to.

Finally, there is a taboo which applies only to those people who at one time had contracted the disease which was responsible for his death. Lautrilus, a girl in her early teens, was eating some coconut meat, and I asked her for a piece when she extended her hand. Tom would not permit her to give it to me explaining that Lautrilus had once had the disease from which Nabwor had recently died.

Taboos on working and cooking are much more stringent should the death occur in a chiefly lineage. The immediate family may not work for one month, the clan may not work for ten days, and the entire village must refrain from working for four days. However, the men may go fishing. During this time the canoe-houses are empty, and the women remain in their courtyards. The men may climb the coconut trees in the interior, but they may not climb trees along the beach where they can be seen.

The behavior of the people following the burial is extremely interesting because of a seeming paradox. The paradox was obvious at the first death that we witnessed, and the same pattern was repeated in the other three deaths. The paradox involves the great discrepancy between the intense wailing prior to, and immediately following a death and the apparent lack of mourning and seeming forgetting of the person soon afterward. The same person who indulges in intense wailing, bordering on hysteria, reverts to his normal behavior immediately after the burial, smiling, laughing, joking, and betraying no signs of bereavement. One might say that this indicates that the people do not really love their kin, and the wailing at the funeral is entirely formal and stylized. But such a conclusion would ignore much evidence to the contrary. For despite the patterned nature of the mourning, the feelings of the mourners seem to be genuine. There is no question about the intense feelings of Arivimae or Nabwor's husband described above. But despite their acute suffering, they too showed no evidence of mourning or acute suffering even a few days after the burial. After the four day mourning period, they were in the canoe-houses, laughing, joking, and eating heartily.

But the problem goes even deeper. The people are vitally concerned about the recovery of an ill person. They will, and do, sacrifice energy, time, and wealth to ensure his recovery. Maroligar, and Wetriliar, for example, the maternal uncle and brother-in-law, respectively, of Nabwor, did everything in

their power to save her when she was ill. They conducted rituals, they made medicine, they literally devoted their entire days for a period of at least a month to her care when she was critically ill. When they saw that she could not be helped and that she was going to die, they were deeply crushed. Their mental suffering was obvious to anyone. But immediately after the burial they were laughing and smiling, and gave little evidence of any mourning. In fact Maroligar devoted his time during the mourning period to card playing. It is as if the deceased is completely forgotten, as if he had never existed.

Now to us this may seem callous. This is another indication, some might say, of the "primitive" lack of sensibility. But such an interpretation would be false and merely display a narrow ethnocentrism. In a small society, such as Ifaluk, reality dictates the necessity of such behavior. Since all the people interact with great intimacy, and the relationship between them is very close, the society could well collapse if mourning were long and protracted, or if the people let themselves become overwhelmed by death. Intense suffering would incapacitate them, they could not do their work, and the results would be disastrous. Instead, the mourning is brief but acute, a real catharsis is experienced, and then life continues.

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But the reality situation alone cannot explain this phenomenon. People do not or cannot always adjust to the demands of reality. Furthermore, what must be explained here is not the overt behavior but the psychological experience. The people could conceivably return to their normal living, but still suffer. What accounts for the seeming abrupt end of the psychological mourning? As far as I can see, there are only two conceivable reasons. First, there is the belief in the continued existence of the soul. The person is not extinguished; his existence continues, but in another form, and there is some communication with him. This answer, however, is not adequate since the same belief obtains in other societies, and the reaction to death is not the same. But yet another answer suggests itself. The growing child, it will be remembered, forms no exclusive emotional attachments. He is surrounded by many adults, many of whom play as important roles in his life as his own parents. This means that the emotional cathexes of the individual are not intense, but are distributed over a number of people. Therefore though the individual feels a loss at the death of a loved one, this loss is not felt as a severe drainage on one's own ego since there are numerous other individuals for whom the individual feels similar attachments. In a society in which individuals form exclusive emotional ties, death may constitute a severe blow to the ego since the identification with the other person has been intense, and his extinction is felt as one's own. But where the emotional cathexes are diffuse, as is the case in Ifaluk, the loss of any one person is not severe, since the person has established many other identifications which continue after the death of any one person. This means, to employ a figure, that though one psychological tentacle has lost its object, the others still cling to theirs.

A person's death, of course, does not mean his extinction. As soon as he dies his soul becomes an alus, and continues to live on in its sky-world. As an alus it may still interact with the people in Ifaluk, so that the living and the dead, as it were, continue to inhabit one behavioral world.

DAILY LIFE

Though the daily routine varies seasonally, as well as daily, and though it varies from individual to individual, and according to age and sex, certain over-all patterns may be described.

Usually the entire population is up at dawn. The first to rise are the mothers of infants, for they must take their babies to be washed in the lagoon. If a woman has decided to work in the taro patch that day, she rises with the crowing of the cocks. Men and women wash in the lagoon upon waking in the morning, but if the woman intends to work in the taro patch she waits until her return. The young men and women, however, do not usually wash until the afternoon. For upon rising the young men usually have the responsibility of obtaining the day's toddy supply, and the young women go in the bush to gather flowers, or they may prepare food for the family.

People do not eat immediately upon rising; indeed it would be difficult to indicate any general pattern of regularity of meals. People may or may not eat, when they awaken, as they please. Furthermore, they eat whatever happens to be at hand--a coconut, or left-over food from the day before. The women of the household may prepare some food in the morning, which may then be eaten about nine o'clock by anyone who happens to be present.

Everyone, however, has his toddy in the morning. An Ifaluk can no more begin his day without consuming toddy that the average American can begin his without coffee. But toddy in Ifaluk is more than the "national drink". There is almost an aura of sanctity surrounding it, and it becomes almost a moral duty to make it. Should a man not prepare toddy, he is accused of violating one of his important marital and familial obligations. Since toddy is one of the few sources of sugar in Ifaluk, the emphasis placed on it might be explained on this rational basis. But this rational consideration, is not a sufficient explanation. The attitude towards it is much too reverential to be explained on purely utilitarian grounds. Men sacrifice certain conveniences for toddy that they will sacrifice for nothing else. For example, rain and damp days are abhorred by the natives, and all activity practically ceases. But the one activity that continues regardless of the weather, is the collection of toddy. The first thing the men did after the minor typhoon we experienced during our stay was to collect their toddy.

There is no family noon meal, either. There is usually some cooked food in the house by noontime, which the members of the family may consume together. If the men have no special economic activity which keeps them busy, they may return to their homes at noon to eat. On the other hand, if they are occupied in some communal work, they do not eat until they complete the job, and then they eat in the canoe-houses, though the food is prepared by the women. If they are engaged in some ordinary but sustained occupation, such as the construction of a canoe, the men eat about noon, but, again, they eat in the canoe-houses. Their food on such occasions consists of coconuts, small

fish caught in the traps, and cooked taro or breadfruit brought by the women. The boys, young and old, may eat with the men if they are helping in the work or they may go home to eat. At other times if they had caught some small fish or crabs, they prepare them themselves, and eat along the beaches, rather than take them home. This means that the women and girls are the only ones at home at noon, and they usually eat together.

Though there is much variation, the evening meal is usually a cooked meal, and it is usually a family meal. The time of eating varies anywhere from about five o'clock to eight o'clock. Except in the case of the women, however, there is no regularity about the other members of the family coming home for dinner. They may eat at other homes, or they may not feel like eating at all. The food is prepared, however, if they want it. But no one is important enough that the family not eat until he return. This need not surprise us. Ifaluk, being so small, the members of the family are always in close proximity to the home, and a person may return to his house a dozen or more times a day. The evening meal, therefore, is not the only opportunity that members of the family have to see each other. They are always near each other, so that closeness—both physical and psychological—is always felt, without the institution of the family meal.

Furthermore, there is no compulsive need to eat at a particular time, though they are prepared to eat at almost any time. As we have already mentioned, any person is offered food whenever he enters a courtyard. This generosity is extended to children, as well. Ordinarily, therefore, people are not famished when evening comes around.

Food is seldom eaten in the house itself. It is prepared in the malum, the cookshed, and eaten outside the house. Only on cold or rainy days will it be eaten inside. The natives explain their outdoor eating by claiming that this keeps scraps of food from remaining in the house.

Usually, when the meal is prepared, a dish of food is set aside for the benevolent alus of the household, and the chief of the household recites a few words of thanksgiving, thanking the alus for protecting the members of the household. On the other hand, if the alus is a poor protector, and illness has befallen some of the people, no food is offered him. This offering is called either agai-l'alus or maipi-l'alus.

Despite the irregularity of eating, extreme emphasis on food is one of the first aspects of Ifaluk culture with which the outside observer is impressed. Preoccupation with food manifests itself in a number of diverse expressions. In the first place, food is the universally favorite topic of conversation. People constantly talk about the food they have eaten, the food they are going to eat, or the food they would like to eat. Men spend hours talking about fishing expeditions, not because of the sport or adventure involved, but because of the amount of fish they caught for food or the fish they were deprived of because they escaped. People abandon any activity in order to eat. Even the chiefs, who otherwise would permit nothing to interrupt their work with the ethnographers, would stop in the middle of a sentence in order to eat freshly

caught fish. The people, down to the young boys, asked about the food in America; and Auelimar, an old man, who was tremendously impressed by descriptions of America, stated that all he wanted to do if he went to America was to eat. When travelers arrive from other islands, the first question put to them--in either order--are: "Is anyone sick? Has anyone died?" and, "Have schools of fish come into the lagoon?" When hungry the people can tolerate no delay in eating. When the men return from a fishing expedition, for example, they immediately prepare fires and bake the fish. They eat ravenously, without conversation, as if this meal is the last they will eat, or if someone were about to take the food from them.

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An invariable part of any religious rite, healing ceremony, or communal work, is the distribution of food and tobacco. Now this distribution is extremely interesting because the food--usually coconuts and taro-pudding--is brought by each family to a central pool, and is then distributed--really redistributed--by the chiefs. Each person receives a coconut or two and a spoonful or two of taro, at the most. But despite the fact that the people themselves bring the food, which is merely being redistributed, and though coconuts and taro exist in overabundance and the quantity they receive is insignificant, the people look forward to this distribution with great eagerness and anticipation. This great joy at receiving food, which they all have in abundance, constitutes a perplexing problem indeed.

Another indication of this food focus is linguistic. The Ifaluk word for "happiness" is e ratr tipei, which literally means, "my belly is good"; and the word for "sadness" is e ngau tipei, which literally means, "my belly is bad." Now it is significant that a "good belly", which is to say, a full stomach, is the sign of happiness; and that a "bad belly", that is, an empty stomach, is a sign of sadness.

Finally, the results of some of the psychological tests indicate the same cultural emphasis. The possession of food leads the list of things on the Stewart Emotional Response Test that most make the people happy; seventy-nine percent of the people indicated that food is their greatest source of happiness. The absence of food is the fourth highest on the list of categories that made the people sad, being preceded only by illness, death, and disobedience. Lack of food is third highest on the list of provocations of anger, and it ranks second on the list of the best things that could happen to them. The perception of food on the T.A.T. is very marked, so that a special category was introduced in the tabulation of T.A.T. responses. A large number of responses in the Rorschach are in the category of food, and a very high percentage of the children's drawings are of food. All this, then, points to an inordinate emphasis on food.

Unless there is some special activity in which the men are engaged, such as communal construction or communal fishing, their average day involves no special commitments. Usually they go to the canoe-houses, where they may make rope; or they may just sit about their canoe-houses. The people rarely if ever, sit on the bare ground. They always sit on a mat, and if there is none

around, they sit on a coconut husk or any other object that happens to be about. Sitting on the bare ground is not tabooed behavior, and the reason for this behavior is much more prosaic; the people simply do not like the feeling of the damp ground. I must have seemed boorish to the people when I first came, because I would sit on the ground without bothering about a mat or a coconut husk.

Usually the men sit on their haunches with their legs under them. The women sit with their legs stretched out, or with one leg stretched out, and one under them.

In the canoe-houses the time is spent in talking, gossiping and smoking. Smoking is a shared enterprise. After smoking for a short time, a person invariably passes his cigarette to the person next to him. That person, in turn, passes it on so that it might change hands five or six times until it is consumed.

The canoe-houses are the centers of the male activities, and it is there that the men spend most of their waking hours. The canoe-houses serve as the men's club houses as well as the centers for much economic activity. In the afternoon nearly all the men take a siesta.

In order to understand this daily life of Ifaluk men it is important to understand the cultural attitude towards labor. This attitude is well-reflected in their language. Though there is a word for work in the native vocabulary (engan), this word refers to specific and discrete forms of labor, rather than to a generic activity. That is, there is no word corresponding to the English word "work", as the latter is used in the context of, "he is going to work." There is, therefore, no social-psychological division of time into the working part of the day or week, and the leisure or recreational part of the day or week. This means that a man's day is his own, to do with whatsoever he desires, and among the activities in which he engages are included certain activities of economic importance. A man goes to the canoe-house in the morning because there he will be with other men, with whom he can engage in conversation, discuss current events, and, if he desires, manufacture rope or seines. This however, is just another activity among many, and there is no compulsive character to it, psychologically speaking. Nor is there a sense of cultural compulsion or obligation. The attitude of "this ought to be done" is alien to the Ifaluk mentality, except insofar as the activity relates to a basic biological need, and then "ought" has no place at all, for it is obvious that if a man wishes to eat or to have shelter against the elements, he must engage in certain forms of activity.

The women spend their days in numerous activities. Their taro patches occupy their attention at least one out of three days, and work in the taro patch consumes the entire day; they leave at dawn and do not return until late afternoon. When they do not work in the taro fields, they spend their mornings preparing food for the evening meal, or else they work on their looms, which is a never-ending job.

A common characteristic of the daily activity of both men and women is its gregarious nature. The Ifaluk abhor solitude and solitary labor. Activity which does not demand cooperation is, nevertheless, performed in a group, so that their work will not interfere with their desire for sociability or conversation. The collection of toddy, the weaving of skirts, the making of rope, the preparing of food--none of these requires cooperative labor. Nevertheless they are almost always performed together with other people. Hence, we can conclude that the social function of the people's daily chores and activities is as motivating a factor as are the practical economic functions.

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Many of the daily activities of both men and women require cooperation, and most communal labor requires the participation of large groups of people. This communal activity is most interesting because of the high degree of esprit de corps that is found in the group. The people go about their tasks with great cheer and gaiety, and a festive spirit seems to pervade the entire group. At times the spirit is one of hilarity, and the interaction is characterized by much joking and bantering.

What is impressive about this behavior is its glaring contrast with the passivity and apathy that characterizes much of the people's other activity. Men often sit in the canoe-houses for hours at a time without exchanging a word, and they seem to be doing nothing but staring into space. The women do not reveal this behavior to the same degree as the men, though it is found in them, as well, but to a much smaller degree. But these same people, when called upon to participate in a communal task, become transmuted into the happy animated personalities alluded to above.

Still another interesting feature about the people's daily activities is the seeming absence of direction or plan. This is most notable in the actual process of work in which a number of people might be engaged. The chiefs, or an initiating individual may call the men together and ascribe the nature of the task. But in the carrying out of the actual labor, there seems to be utter anarchy. No one has a definite assignment, but fits himself in where he thinks his efforts are needed. Nor does any one individual assume over-all direction. The result is that every person shouts orders to everyone else, and men scurry from one point of the operation to another, many having the same intention. When as many as thirty-six men are working on one canoe, the result is complete chaos and confusion, at least to the observer. But, incredibly enough, the end result of this confusion and absence of plan is a unified activity, with the end-in-view accomplished and, what is even more important, without injury to any of the participants.

The daily lives of the adolescents are highly variable. The adolescent boys often sit in the canoe-house of their own. Their activities in the canoe-houses are similar to those of the men. They, too, often do little else than joke, sing, or twist fibre into rope. One of their favorite activities is the sharpening of knives. Whenever they have nothing to do or when conversation lags, they take out their knives and sharpen them on a whetstone. Their knives become razor sharp from this constant sharpening, and it is little wonder that they

shave with them. These adolescent boys often go fishing in the afternoons, and in the late afternoon they once again collect the toddy for their household.

The adolescent girls, as we have already indicated, do not associate in gangs as do the young men. They are, like the women, restricted to their homes, and their behavior and responsibilities are little different from those of the women.

This restriction of the girl to her home is not a severe frustration since the entire population lives a restricted life. In our discussion of children's play, we pointed out that children are not permitted to play outside their own district. This restriction on mobility is not confined to the children, however, but extends into adulthood, as well. In the people's daily life it is rare for persons from different islands or even from different districts within an island to visit each other. Except when the women from FalarIk go to Falalap to work in their taro patches, or when the men of either island have to collect their toddy from trees growing on the other island, the people remain within their own districts.

This "provincialism" is broken at only one point. The adolescent males have the range of the atoll and may be seen in different parts of it at any time. Their friendships are not restricted to members of their own district and, in some cases, close friends live in different islands. But when these young men marry, their mobility decreases, too, and they are content to remain within their own district.

The late afternoon is the time for everyone to bathe. Women bathe in the lagoon directly in front of their houses, walking into the water with their skirts on. The men usually bathe in a secluded beach far from habitation, and they change their loin-cloths after this daily bath. Both sexes use grated coconut-meat for ointment.

There is little activity after bathing. The people retire to their homes and the canoe-houses and the beaches are emptied.

After dinner activity again breaks down into sex and age categories. The families sit about, talking, drinking toddy, smoking and exchanging news of the day. Often, a couple visits its in-laws. Some families may sing a gapeng until they retire, others may visit the home of a sick person. During the dark of the moon, the family usually retire to the interior of the house when it gets dark, and they go to sleep shortly after. The children usually go to sleep at the same time as the parents. On moonlit nights, the people do not retire until much later. They remain out-of-doors, talking and singing in high spirit, and laughter may be heard ringing out from many courtyards.

After dinner the young men rarely remain at home, but return again to the canoe-house or, in the case of a moonlit night, to the beaches. Like the adults they talk about the events of the day, or of some projected plan for the morrow. They often sing at night, their favorite songs being bwarux, though gapeng are also sung. If I were with them, they were eager to hear about America or to learn some English words. On dark nights they return to their

homes early but on moonlit nights they often go fishing. By this time, however, everyone is sleeping, and when these young men return from their fishing the entire village is sleeping, except for young lovers who have met after everyone else is asleep.

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APPENDIX I - Orthography; Notes on Phonemics

The native language of Ifaluk is assigned by linguists to the Carolinian branch of the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic stock. It is identical, or nearly identical, with that of the immediately surrounding islands--Woleai, Lamotrek, Faraulep, Eaurupik, and (informants say) Sorol. Differences are apparent between this Ifaluk (or Woleai) dialect and that of Fais and Ulithi to the northwest, but they are slight. Differences are apparent as near as Satawal to the east, but the people of Ifaluk say they have no difficulty in conversing with the people of islands as far as Puluwat, nor even with those of Truk, though there the difference becomes substantial.

The languages of Ifaluk and that of Yap, however, are not mutually comprehensible, from all accounts. Many people of Ifaluk can converse with those of Yap, particularly with their acknowledged overlords in Garpar (Gatschapar) village of Gagil district. But this means that one or other party

to the conversation has learned a foreign language.

The orthography used in this report has been adapted from those used by Sam H. Elbert for other islands in the Carolines, and is limited to characters readily made on an ordinary typewriter. It is not consistently phonemic, for the task of working out the phonemes, though begun, was not completed. Nor is the spelling entirely consistent.

The phonemes in use are relatively few. This very fact renders fine distinctions unnecessary in many cases, and a number of the phonemes are pronounced indifferently in several ways which, to speakers of English, are quite distinct. The most widely known of these phonemes of wide range is that which includes 1 and n, because it has been found on other islands, including Truk. In Ifaluk, too 1 and n are interchangeable except when prolonged or "doubled." Limen, the name of a kind of fish, can as well be pronounced nimel, limel, or nimen, as nearly as I could make out. There does seem to be some tendency to prefer one of these alternative sounds to the other in some combinations; but to determine just what this tendency amounted to would have been a time-consuming task, at which the writer was inexperienced; so it was not attempted. It is clear, at least, that the "doubled" consonants are not interchangeable. The one most commonly doubled is n. The word fengenni, "together", is never heard as fengelli. Nor is Ella, name of an uninhabited islet on the atoll, ever pronounced Enna.

Some other phonemes of wide range are the following:

k - g - y - These three palatal sounds--an unvoiced stop, a voiced stop, and a spirant--seem interchangeable in initial position. All are sounded very lightly; thus the word for clan was recorded as ailang for some time before the presence of this initial sound became unmistakable, and the spelling was changed to kailang. The name for the men's house was first recorded as Atelu, later as both Katelu and Gatelu (the G more or less spirantalized).

In inter-vocalic position the voiced form is usual, perhaps invariable. It is most commonly a spirant, but is sometimes pronounced so briefly as to sound like a stop. In rapid speech it may be elided; thus <u>lago</u> was often heard as <u>lao</u>. In final position the unvoiced stop seems invariable. The change according to position is tested by the usual practise of dropping final vowels. Thus, the full name of the atoll we spell as Ifaluk seems to be <u>Ifalugu</u>, a form recorded only in song texts. It is usually pronounced <u>Ifalok</u>; in final position the stop is unvoiced; the sound of the vowel also changes. Similarly, the full name of the island we call Truk seems to be <u>Trugu</u> or <u>Rugu</u> (again recorded only in song texts); but it is pronounced <u>Trok</u> or <u>Rok</u>.

s, z, sh, j - There seems to be but one sibilant phoneme, which can be pronounced in any of four ways. Thus the word sari, 'child', was recorded as sari, zari, and jari. The sound written as j is like French j, or English si in 'occasion'. This sound is especially favored in songs, but is not uncommon in ordinary speech. The sound sh was noted only in final position; perhaps a matter of unvoicing the j when a final vowel is not sounded.

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- r, tr, 4 The basic pronunciation of this trill-plus phoneme, and perhaps the most frequently heard, is a simple lingual trill. But when the utterance is begun with the tongue in contact with the teeth and hard palate, it is heard as tr, with an initial stop. This is interchangeable with the simple trill in any position, though one form or other seems commonest in some combinations. This is one of the points at which the spelling used is not phonemic, the sound being written as most frequently heard. The third sound is less frequent, yet is the commonest in some combinations, usually in final position. Thus the word mauar (goodwill of any kind; like Hawaiian aloha) was first heard as mauas, though the final s seemed a little queer. More careful observation was induced by occasional hearing of a final trill in this word and in one other, the name of the boy assigned by the chiefs as our helper, Talimeira. We pronounced this at first as Talimeija (j as in joy); but after hearing it occasionally as a trill, careful listening brought out the apical spirant. It seems describable as an attempt at a trill, not pronounced energetically enough to make the tongue flap.
- a, ä, A as in father and a as in hat seem interchangeable. Emphasis appears to pull the sound toward ä. The emphatic, prolonged pronunciation of this sound gives a feline, caterwauling effect to overheard conversations. Here again the spelling is not phonemic. Because of doubt as to whether these two sounds were one phoneme, words are spelled with the sound most frequently heard.

On the other hand, the language consistently makes some distinctions that seem rather fine to the ears of speakers of English. One of these is between w and bw. W is like English w, but sounded very lightly in initial position. The

German Sarfert, for example, did not hear it, but wrote Oleai where we write Woleai, Olofat where I write Wolfat. The bw is a voiced spirant, very like a voiced English 'wh'. The fact that the native language distinguishes between the two is beyond doubt. For example, wong means turtle; bwong, night. Another fine distinction is between m (like English m) and mw (an m with rounded lips). The range of soundin vowel phonemes seems in general narrower than in consonant ones, and some of the distinctions observed are difficult for speakers of English. It can not be asserted that the spelling of vowels here is infallible.

The language does not tolerate juxtaposition of consonants. Wherever two consonants are written together, a vowel must be sounded between them. The vowel used is the 'neutral' one often written?; like English a in 'unapproachable'. (Consonants were written together when the vowel between was not considered phonemic; but this conclusion is vulnerable.)

Final vowels are not pronounced unless they are prolonged, or the word is followed by one beginning with a consonant. Even in the latter case, the sound heard is as often the neutral vowel as whatever the final one would be in the complete form. A number of the words written with a final consonant probably have an additional final vowel which was never heard. The kind of systematic linguistic study that would have been necessary to identify all final vowels was not undertaken.

With this much by way of preliminary explanation and apology, a list of the characters used for sounds heard (but not in text, to avoid discriticals) follows:

Vowels

- i like English 'ee' in 'meek'.
- I like English 'i' in 'hit'. Whether this is a distinct phoneme from the preceding one is not certain, but its pronunciation seemed consistent.*
- e like English 'e' in 'egg'.
- e like French 'e muet'; or like 'u' in 'ugly' but with lips rounded.
- e back, high, unrounded. Not found in English.
- a like English 'a' in 'father'.
- a like English 'a' in 'hat'. Seems interchangeable with the preceding in many combinations, but others were heard only in the one way.
- o- apparently variable, from like English 'aw' in 'law' to more like British-English 'o' in 'got'.
- o like English 'oo' in 'wool'.
- u like English 'oo' in 'boot'. Interchangeable with the preceding in some cases, as <u>rowot</u> <u>rowut</u>. Dropping a final vowel, which unvoices the preceding stop, will change the vowel before that from 'u' to 'o'. Thus 'Ifalugu' becomes, 'Ifalok'.
- u front, lower high, rounded. Not found in English. Like the 'i' of 'it', pronounced with rounded lips.
- y like English 'u' in 'ugly'. In some cases seems interchangeable with 'a'.
 The 'neutral' vowel, inserted between consonants, is also very like this.

^{*} Spelling in text not consistent. In some places a sound heard as "I" is spelled "i" but this practise was not followed throughout.

Most of these vowels, perhaps all of them, occur successively. In this case, unlike English diphthongs, both retain about equal duration and emphasis.

Stops

Never aspirated or glottalized.

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p - like English 'p' in 'lip' or 'apparatus'; not like the aspirated 'p' of English 'peak'.

pw -rare. Noted only in <u>lipwaix</u>, a kind of fish, and <u>ganipwa</u>, a kind of taro. kk -like English 'k', but prolonged. Rare.

Stop-Spirant

k - g - As already noted, three sounds seem included in one phoneme; an unvoiced stop like English 'k' (unaspirated), a voiced stop like English 'g', and a spirant usually written phonetically with a gamma. Because of doubt as to whether 'k' and 'g' were always interchangeable, both letters were retained in use. There seems to be no doubt that the stop and the spirant written as 'g' are interchangeable.

Spirants

- bw -bilabial, voiced, rounded; somewhat like a voiced utterance of English 'wh'. w like English 'w'; lightly sounded in initial position.
- f like English 'f' or 'v'; the voiced and unvoiced forms appear interchangeable.
- s, z, sh, j the point that these four sounds seem interchangeable has already been discussed. Because of some remaining doubt as to whether this is always so, they have been written as most frequently heard or, when that was in doubt, as 's'.
- x like German 'ch' in 'ach', or Spanish 'j'.

Nasals

m - like English 'm'.

mw - like an 'm' pronounced with rounded lips.

nn - like English 'n', but prolonged.

ng - like English 'ng' in 'sing', 'winging', but occurs also in initial position.

Nasal-lateral

n - 1 - these two sounds, like those written with these letters in English, but farther forward (dental), are interchangeable. There seems to be a tendency to favor one or other in some combinations—for example, the name 'Tarobweliman' was never heard as 'Tarobwenimal'—but in most

cases no preference could be noted. The writing here is as inconsistent as the pronunciation. Words are recorded as most frequently heard, or first heard; but any 1 can as well be an n, so far as determined.

Lateral

11 - the lateral is not often doubled, but when it is, it is no longer interchangeable with 'n'.

Trill-Spirant

Again the spelling is variable, like the pronunciation, with some attempt to record the trill as most frequently heard, but no way to write the spirant.

APPENDIX II - Word List

The following list contains mostly words of rather general application. Some more specific or technical bits of vocabulary, given in the text, are not repeated here: numerals, names of plants and animals, and of kinds of turtle meat under Habitation; names of the parts of canoe, house, and loom, and of stars (navigation), under Technology; kinship terms--which have no exact English equivalents -- under Co-Residence and Kinship.

IFALUK TO ENGLISH

ai - you (2nd person plural before verb) bwerbwer - white al - sun al - road alax - talk, say, speak aleal - spoon (of green coconut husk) alus - god, demon amann - finished angi - wind aramat - man, human being aramatakaua-somebody ario - still fishing, without pole arot - finished arueru - lament, for the dead aseal - pregnancy aso - thatch asogili - thatch of cured leaf atiligetau - latch to fasten wall mats ating - seine atoliet - wick, twisted like rope from crude coconut husk atuafang - northeast wind aulap - much (of food) aulong - surf

auralap - south wind bugum - anus bwa-if bwames - moribund bwarux - serenade (song and dance) bwäu - angling bwei - kind of divination with coconut leaf bwel - taro swamp

bwitog - come bwogotai - (my) hereditary land bwyng - heavy

ea - fishing line (made of gilivo, hibiscus bast) ebong - broken bone egakatik - lie egarep - near elepan - loin-cloth engang - work (general) may be solitary erotr - dark eteram - light etraual tamae - deathly sick evangelap - north wind ewai - mouth ewes - old

fal pai - (my) armpit faleval - make a canoe falu - land (island) fan - work house or storehouse fan nab - men's house fan ni wa - canoe house far (fatr) pandanus fäs - laugh fatevat - thatch a house fatogi - to plant

fatol - paddle

fatul - eyebrows faumax - coral gravel fe - intercourse, sexual fengenni - together fo - new foti - nose gafitag - same gai - penis gajebwon - very short gaji - bring gajitok - bring galola - urine gami - you (pl) ganei - give (to the speaker) ganeu - give (to another) gang - me, I gapengpeng - invocation of a god by song and dance gato - basket, round, with handle, to hold bowl gatrepar - lie (from Gatschapar, a village in Yap) gatru - happy gel - you gelago - dog geligeli - weed a garden gili - mat (sitting) gilivo - Hibiscus tiliaceus gilixa - pox? (sickness involving red spots on the body) gir - we gitigit - little, small golgol - cord gomware - sweetheart gororo - blue guruguru - staff, walking-stick

ia - why
ia rigerik - tried
iauru - south
iat - up
ievang - north
ig - fish

igan - there (not far)
igei - here
igelan - there (far)
ikolevo - chills
ilalo - down
iletoru - west wind
im - house (dwelling)
imailolo - nausea
im mutumae - menstrual hut
ire - he
ire - they
itagula - perhaps
ivā - where
iwa - that's it (it is in the right place)
izamet - enough (of food)

gato - basket, round, with handle,
to hold bowl
katiri - fast
gatrepar - lie (from Gatschapar, a
village in Yap)
gatrü - happy
gelago - dog
gelago - dog
geligeli - weed a garden
gesebwal - wind (when aboard a canoe)
gili - mat (sitting)
gilivo - Hibiscus tiliaceus
gilixa - pox? (sickness involving red
katiri - fast
kauerei - fishing with, or going about
with turu, coconut leaf torch
kepalepan - loin-cloth
kepat - talk, say, speak
keri - rat
ketagumwaliel - turn (oneself around)
ko - fish hook
korrou - rain
kotu - east wind

jatok - give (me) jokot - little (of food)

lago - go

langi - sky
lap - big, much
legao - female baby
leguliwor - ocean (outside the reef)
ligeti - all gone
lip - pit (hole)
lo - big wave (tidal?)
lalai - long
loko - broom made of coconut leaflet
midrib
lu (nu) - coconut
luei - tongue

lugu - within, inside (of)

ma - from mageru - backrest stone magetox - assemble mäi - breadfruit mako - tatooing, tattooed makulong - northward (on land --

toward FalarIk) malemin - hurricane

maliel - thick malieli - talk (in general)

malivillf - thin

malók - chicken, fowl; malók rowot,

hen; malok nwal, rooster

malu - weak

malu li pei - (my) elbow joint malu li perei -back of (my) knee

maluelu - slow

malum - cooking shed

maniling - cloud

maringeri - hard (stiff)

marmar - garland

masetra - dysentery? (blood in the

feces) matotiu - sit

mauar - good-will

mazur - sleep

mele - this

malekaua - something

melmorok - thief

menna - that

mennaxo - drift off the course

mesetat - sea-sickness

mesilipik - epidemic; also, name of a petrau - hungry

spirit blamed for certain diseases pulax - swamp taro

meta - what

metag - pain

metagtrimwei - sick in the head,

headache

metai - (my)eye, (my) face

metala tut - nipple

metamasuro - blind

metar - lagoon side

metotu - buttocks

mezoazou - strong (wind) mizelők - seaward side

mongo - eat

morumor - short

na - to, toward

namo - lagoon

namu - mosquito

nangeta - famine

nau - tomorrow

ngi - teeth

ngolu - ghost

ni - in

nibwel - taro patch

nijor - morning

nijor a nau - tomorrow morning

niwel - wood or bush

oae - (my) lip

onremai - (my) hair

owai - fishing spear

pa - bonito hook

pag - feces

pai - (my) arm

palu - navigator, captain (of a canoe)

pat - thunder paula - hole

paula - arm

pegInni - dark cloud

pei - sand

pelaperaliperei - (my) foot

perei - (my) leg

perou - beach sandstone

rag - season (5 months)

ral - fresh water

ran - day

rang rang - flame colored

rannu - soft

re - they (before a verb)

rere - message

retra - red

retralo - black rewa - comb rouro - yaws rowot - woman ru - upon, in (a canoe)

sa - tide sa gunetox - incoming tide sa poretox - high tide sa wat - low tide sagai - (my) belly saipe - fan (pandanus) salax - go sames - die sangau - sad sari - child sari mwan - little boy sari rowót - little girl sekut ma sekut - easy semet e la - it is different sennap - master-builder seu e la - same shewoshu - to grate (food) shugu - to pound (taro) si - we (1st person plural inclusive) siro - hog, pig si wolei langi - hurricane si wolei malemin - hurricane sibelawe - secret intercourse in the

siugao - male baby siutax - stand sopāl - large adz sor - talk, converse

bush

taali - rope, large
tabw - taboo, forbidden
tabwol i velu - cape, or point of
land
tagale mailap - east
tagolu - back
taif - house platform
taikole - eyebrows
tal - dream
tamae - sick

tamol - chief tangi - cry taoro - pass (in and out of lagoon) tapei - wooden bowl tar - none, nothing taramei - overcast sky tari mwan - a youth tat - salt water tau - far taubwong bwong - master of ceremonies, 'priest' taui - conch shell, conch shell trumpet tautave - healer, (native) tave - medicine tawol - land's end temwau - sick, nauseated ter - native cloth, woven on loom tera - throw teraia - throw-net tetar - throw tibwe - lower, descent; (of a god) descent to earth, take possession of a man tingi - vagina toai bwyng - light (in weight) tobore - drill, (spun by hand) topoxau - mat (sitting) trau - heavy trela - small adz trelwa - hat of pandanus leaf tribw - divination with coconut leaf trimwei - (my) head triwerep - bay trou - big scoop net tru - bone tubwu - sets (of sun or star) tubwuli mailap - west tufai - old person tufai mwal - old man tufai rowot - old woman turu - coconut leaf torch

tut - breast

tutu - wash

umu - earth oven unn - green urur sari - playpen for baby

vagilitok - find vau - stone veivei - same verugit - big, much vori - make, do vorovor - turtle shell vus - star

wa - canoe

wait - trolling
wangevale - set a post
weneng - far up, aloft
werlkar - hard (difficult)
wetau - basket
wir - banana
wolwol - vegatation, plant, wood
worawora - lightning
wot - taro (true taro)
wotr - reef

xai - we (1st person plural exclusive)
xauolotiu - put, place

ENGLISH TO IFALUK

adz, large - sopāl
adz, small - trelā
aloft - weneng
angling - bwau (see also bamboo)
anus - bugum
arm - paula
arm (my) - pai
armpit (my) - fal pai
assemble - magetox

baby, female - legao baby, male - siugao back - tagolu backrest stone - mageru bamboo - bwau banana - wIr basket - wetaubasket, round - gato (go hold bowl) bay (identation in coast) - triwerep belly (my) - sagai big - lap, verugit black - retralo blind - metamasuro blue - gororo bone - tru bonito hook - pa bowl, wooden - tapei boy, little - sari mwan breadfruit - mai

breast - tut bring - gaji, gajitok broom - loko builder, master - sennap buttocks - metotu

canoe - wa canoe-house - fan ni wa canoe making - faleval cape (point of land) - tabwol i velu captain (of a canoe) - palu chicken - malok; hen, malok rowot; rooster, mwalok mwal chief - tamol child - sari clan - kailang cloth, native - ter cloud - maniling cloud, dark - pegInni coconut - lu (nu) comb - rewa come - bwitog conch shell - taui conch trumpet - taui converse - sor cooking shed - malum cord - golgol cry - tangi

dark - erotr
day - ran
demon - alus
descend - tibwe
die - sames
different - semet e la
difficult - werlkar
disease - tamae;

backache - tagumol'
stomach-ache - metagiseni
sore leg - metag i leperei
broken bone - ebong
cut - kopitok
chills - ikolevo
fever - isamesilibwex
dysentery (? blood in the
feces) - masetra
'red spots on the body - gilixa
sea-sickness - mesetat
yaws - rouro

divination - bwei, tribw dizziness - maliel do - vori dog - gelago down - ilalo dream - tal drift - mennaxo drill, hand - tobore

east - tagale mailap
easy - sekut ma sekut
eat - mongo
elbow (my) - malu li pei
enough (of food) - zāmet
epidemic - mesilipik, masen
eye (my) - metai
eyebrows - fatul, taikole

face (my) - metai
famine - nangeta
fan, (pandanus) - saipe
far - tau
fast - katiri
feces - pag
find - vagilitok

finished - amann, arot
fish - ig
fish hook - ko
fishing, seine - ating
fishing, still - ario
fishing, torch - kauerei
fishing line - ea
flame colored - rang rang
foot (my) - pelaperaliperei
forbidden - tabw
fowl - malok
from - ma

garland - marmar
ghost - ngolu
girl, little - sari rowót
give (to the speaker) - ganei, jatok
give (to another) - ganeu
go - lago, salax
god - alús
gone, all - ligeti
good-will - mauar
grate (food) - shewoshu
gravel, coral - faumax
green - únn

hair - dnremai happy - gatrū hard (difficult) - werlkar hard (stiff) - maringeri hat (of pandanus leaf) - trelwa hau (Hibiscus tiliaceus) - gilivo he - ire head (my) - trimwei headache - metag trimwei healer, native - tautave heavy - bwyng, trau here - igei hog - siro hole - paula hook, bonito - pa hook, fish - ko house, dwelling - im house, canoe - fan ni wa house, men's - fan nap

house, store - fan
house, work - fan
house platform - taif
human being - aramat
hungry - petrau
hurricane - malemin, si wolei langi,
si wolei mal emin

I - gang; (before a verb), i

if - bwa

in - ni

in (a canoe) - ru

inside of - lugu (the distinction between much - lap, verugit this and 'ni' not clear)

intercourse, sexual - fe

intercourse, sexual (secret in the bush) - sibelawe

invocation (of a god by song and

morning - nijor morning, tomorrow mosquito - namu mouth (my) - ewai mouth (of yo - aula much (of food) - aula nausea - imailolo nauseated - temwau navigator - palū

knee, back of (my) - malu li perei

dance) - gapengpeng

lagoon - namo lagoon side - metar lament - arūerū land (island) - falu land (hereditary plot, my) - bwogotai land's end - tawol latch (to fasten wall mats) - atiligetau laugh - fas leg (my) - perei lie - egakatik, gatrepar (from Gatschapar, a village in Yap) light - eteram light (in weight) - toai bwyng lightning - worawora lip - oae little - gitigit little (of food) - jokot loin-cloth - elepan, kepalepan long - lalai lower - tibwe

make - vori man - aramat man, old - tufai mwal
massage - rere
master of ceremonies - taubwongbwong
mat (sitting) - gili, topoxau
me - gang
medicine - tave
menstrual hut - im mutumae
moribund - bwames
morning - nijor
morning, tomorrow - nijor a nau
mosquito - namu
mouth (my) - ewai
much - lap, verugit
much (of food) - aulap

nausea - imailolo
nauseated - temwau
navigator - palū
near - egārep
net, throw - teraia
net, scoop - trou
new - fō

sandstone, beach - perou say - alax, kepat, kepatepat scoop net - trou season (5 months) - rag seaward side - mizelók seine - ating serenade (song and dance) - bwarux set (a post) - wangevale sets (of sun or star) - tubwu shell, conch - taui short - morumor short, very - gajebwon sick - tame, temwau sick, deathly - etraual tamae sit - matotiu sky - langi sky, overcast - taramei sleep - mazur slow - maluelu small - gitigit soft - rannu somebody - aramatakaua

something (nearby) - melekaua south - iauru speak - alax, kepat, kepatepat spear, fishing - owai spoon (of green coconut husk) - aleal staff - guruguru stand - siutax star - vus stone - vau strong (wind) - mezoazou sun - al surf - aulong sweetheart - gomware

taboo - tabw talk - alax, kepat, kepatepat, sor talk (general) - malieli taro (true taro) - wot taro (swamp taro) - pulax taro patch - bwel, nibwel tattoed, tattooing - mako tattooing, specialist in - taupotu teeth - ngi that - menna thatch - aso thatch (of cured leaf) - asogili thatch (v.) - fatevat that's it - iwa there (far) - igelan there (not far) - igan they - ire they (before a verb) - re thick - māliel thief - melmorok thin - malivillf this - mele throw - tera, tetar throw-net - teraia thunder - pat tide - sa tide, incoming - sa gunetox tide, high - sa poretox tide, low - sa wat tired - iā rigerik

to - na
together - fengenni
tomorrow - nau
tongue (my) - luei
torch, coconut leaf - turu
toward - na
trolling - wait
trumpet, conch - taui
turn (oneself around) - ketagumwaliel
turtle shell - vorovor

up - iát up (far) - weneng upon - ru urine - galola

vagina - tingi vegetation - wolwol

wailing (for the dead) - tangi walking-stick - guruguru wash - tutu water, fresh - ral water, salt - tat wave, big (tidal?) - lo we - gir we (inclusive) - si we (exclusive) - xai weak - malu weed (v.) - geligeli west - tubwuli mailap what - meta where - iva white - bwerbwer why - ia wick (twisted from crude coconut husk) - atolief wind - angi wind (when aboard a canoe) - gesebwal wind, east - kotu wind, north - evangelap wind, northeast - atuafang wind, south - auralap wind. west - iletoru

within - lugu
wood - wolwol
woods - niwel
woman - rowot
woman, old - tufai rowot
work (general) - engang

yaws - rouro you - gel you (pl) - gami you (pl. before verb) - ai youth, a - tari mwan

APPENDIX III - Further Sailing Directions

A. Ifaluk to Faraulep and Return

Guiding Stars - Wolwol, due north, indicates the true direction. But because of prevailing currents, take first Tagalemailepalevang (on the chart as (Tagali) Mailapelivang) for 4 miles; then Tubwulemailepalevang for 1 mile; then Wolwol. After following Wolwol for 1 1/2 miles, Faraulep should be sighted.

Rear Sight - Keep Ella just touching the northwestern tip of Falarlk.

Bird - If a metalipangerale, with long tail feathers, is sighted, the cance is off its course. Then the star Ulu (whether rising or setting not stated) will bring it in to Faraulep.

Fish - If a shark is sighted, follow the star Metremeiat.

Stars for Return Trip - The star indicating the true direction is Wolwol.

To allow for currents, take first Metremeiat for 4 miles; then

Metremeital for 1 mile. From there, Wolwol will fetch Ifaluk.

B. Guiding Stars, Faiau to Ifaluk.

Metremeital for 5 miles; then <u>Tubwulemetara</u> (on chart as (<u>Tubwu li</u>) Metarua) for 2 miles; then <u>Tubwul'Ipu</u> for 2 miles. This will bring the canoe in sight of Ifaluk.

C. Rear Sights for Voyage from Ifaluk to Lamotrek.

Put Ella just touching the end of the long stone pier on Falalap.
On the return trip, put the islet Falaite just touching the north end of Valipi.

- D. Courses from Yap to Ifaluk, with Intermediate Stops First course:
 - 1. Yap to Ulithi; guiding star, Tagal'ulu.
 - 2. Ulithi to Fais; Tagalielieli.
 - 3. Fais to Woleai; Tagatumura.
 - 4. Woleai to Ifaluk; Tagalielieli.

Second Course:

- 1. Yap to Sorol; Tagalielieli.
- 2. Sorol to Woleai; Tagalielieli.
- 3. Woleai to Ifaluk; Tagalielieli.

Third Course:

- 1. Yap to Sorol; Tagalielieli.
- 2. Sorol to Eaurupik; Tagatumura.
- 3. Eaurupik to Woleai; Tagalimel.

To sail from Ifaluk to Yap, the preferred course is by way of Woleai and Sorol. The star Tubwul'ulu is followed the whole way.

E. Courses from Truk to Ifaluk

First Course:

- 1. Truk to Satawan; Tubwulimailap.
- 2. Satawan to Ifaluk; Tubwulimailap.

Second Course (recommended because gaps are shorter);

- 1. Truk to Puluwat; Tubwul'ulu; (2 nights).
- 2. Puluwat to Satawan; Tubwulielieli; (1 night).
- 3. Satawan to Lamotrek; Tubwul'ulu (1 night).
- 4. Lamotrek to Elato; Tubwul'ulu (1/2 day); these islands are in sight of each other).
- 5. Elato to Ifaluk; Tubwulielieli; (1 night).

F. Courses from Ifaluk to Truk

First Course: Ifaluk to Satawan; Satawan to Truk; Tagalimailap the whole way.

Second Course (recommended because distances are shorter):

- 1. Ifaluk to Elato; Tagal'ulu.
- 2. Elato to Lamotrek, by day, in sight; by night, Tagalielieli.
- 3. Lamotrek to Satawan; Tagalielieli.
- 4. Puluwat to Souk; Wolwol. (Why this detour to the south?).
- 5. Souk to Truk; Tagal'ulu.

G. From Woleai.

Tagaliwileugo - Faraulep.

Tagalimailap - Vasulos (reef).

Tagalielieli - Ifaluk.

Tagalitumur - Moroe (reef).

Tubwulitumur - Aurupik.

Tubwusarabwol - Buguelueluarem (reef). On the way, one man o' war bird.

Tubwululu - Sorol.

Tubwulimwarigari - Ulithi.

Tubwulimel - Fais. (One of the Ifaluk dance songs, the Peiran of Falalap, disagrees. According to its text, the star Tubwulimwarigari will bring a canoe from Woleai to the rock Rimwelivarougoue in Fais).

H. From Faraulep.

Tagalimailap e li vang - Saipan.

Tagaliwileugo - l fish, gapile

TagaliugilIk - 1 big fish -etag.

Tagalimel - Faiau.

Pauievang - Kalua (small reef).

Tagalimailap - Religousam (reef).

Tagalielieli - one man o'war bird (called in 'captain's language' neurevas).

Tagatumūr - Trimaliwelibwugu (reef); farther, Olimarao.

TagalIpu - 2 whales, ualeliga jewetoxu.

Metremeiat - Vasulos (reef).

Wólwól li Iauru - Ifaluk.

Tubwul'Ipu - Woleai.

Metarua - 20 porpoises, guatrIk.

Tubwulielieli - l bird with long tail feathers, metalipangerele; Sorol.

Tubwulimailap - 1 whale, ualimen.

Tubwul'ulu - 1 red fish, ig i seram; Fais.

Tubwuwileugo - 1 shark, trImeijou, with 2 small fish, sIlelia, 'under his arm'; 2 big black diving birds, igotoro.

Wólwól li Ievang - many small black birds, asúval; Guam.

I. From Faiau.

Tagalimailap e li vang - Trilial (Tinian):

Tagaliwileugo - Saipan.

Tagalimel - Tipipi (uninhabited island).

Tagal 'ul - Tipapa (uninhabited island).

Tagalimailap - Getūa.

Tagalipauiauru - 1 shark, laigelalo; his head keeps coming out of water.

Tagalielieli - Pigela (uninhabited island).

Tagatumura - Satawan.

Taga limetārua - Lamotrek.

Tagal'Ipu - Elato.

Metremeiat - 1 shark, with 1 man o' war bird over him, saumatol.

Wolwol li Iauru - Olimarao.

Metremeital - 4 whales, nagmetau.

TubwulIpu - Vasulos (reef).

Tubwulimetārua (? designation uncertain) - Ifaluk

Tubwulitumura - Faraulep.

Tubwulielieli - 1 shark with 2 small fish ' under his arm' - shemeijo,

Tubwulimailap - Fais

Tubwul'ul - 1 large fish with black head and white tail, tagural.

Tubwulimel - Vasielús (reef).

Tubwulwileugo - 1 white man o' war bird, gapilē.

Wolwol li Ievang - Guam

J. From Lamotrek.

Tagaliwileugo - 10 small fish, linked together like a chain - fātaleimware.

Tagaliugilık - Pigello (small uninhabited island, many turtles - Pikelot?)

Tagalimel - Uraiseivetal (small reef).

Tagal 'ulu - Pigennot (small uninhabited island, many turtles - Pikelot?)

Tagalipuievang - 20 big porpoises; very bad, will try to crush canoe.

Tagalimailap - Puluwat.

Tagalielieli - Satawan.

Tagal'Ipu - many birds, tepal, with strong odor.

Metremeiat - 1 whale, uauumaiauru.

Wolwol li Iauru - 2 pagennai birds, called in captain's language lairomwara.

Tubwulipauiauru - Ifaluk

Tubwulimailap - Olimarao.

TubwuliugllIk - Faiau.

Tubwuliwileugo - Faurëp (reef).

Tubwulimailapliievang - RütIk (reef).

K. From Olimarao. (Two versions were given of this. Intended to supplement each other, they disagreed at some points, as noted.)

Tagaliwileugo - many porpoises, called in captain's language naigam.

TagaliugIlīk - black mwili birds, called in captain's language pongenor.

Tagalimėl - Tipapa.

Tagalimegarigari - (other version - many mweli birds, called pongulor.)

Tagal'ūlu - Pigella (uninhabited island).

Ta gali pauievang - (other version - Pigella).

Tagalimailap - Pigennot.

Tagalielieli - Lamotrek.

Tagatumura - Elato.

Tagalipu - 2 paugennai birds, called aurovalu.

Wolwol li Ievang - 1 common shark and 2 very small white sharks called laorumetau.

Metremeital - MIsailealu (reef).

Tubwul'Ipu - Ororang (reef).

Tubwulitumura - Wëraitogelimware (reef).

Tubwulisarabwol - Ifaluk (? one version dubious, as Aurupik is south of Ifaluk).

Tubwulielieli - Aurupik.

Tubwulipauiauru - Ifaluk (? one version).

Tubwulimailap - Woleai; Vasulos, one version; other has next star south for Vasulos.

Tubwulipauievang - Gauta, (reef).

Tubwul'ulu - many porpoises, called in one version Falepeipeilalai; in the other Misailiealu, which the other uses for a reef under Metremeital.

Tubwulimwarigari - 40 fish, arong.

Tubwulimel - SImweliulibwugu (reef); farther on, Faraulep.

Tubwuliwileugo - many small porpoises, uouwelinIran.

Tubwulimailapelivang - OratIk (reef), one version; other has Galua, apparently a little farther southwest, under a star for which no name is listed.

Wolwol li Ievang - Farap (reef), 1 version; other has Rajeivetal, and, farther on, Faiau.

L. From Satawal (Satawal-aito). (This list as given contained only directions toward the east. Two for the nearer islands to the west, however, were given 'in reverse' with the list for those islands - Lamotrek and Faiau - and are added here.)

Tagatumura - Orejeivetan (reef).

Tagasarabwol - Souk (Pulusuk?)

Tagalielieli - Oroural (reef).

Tagal'ulu - TruatalevalerIk (reef); farther on, under same star, Truataligapelalei (reef); still farther, under same star, Puluwat.

Tagal uglik - Pegennot (Pikelot? Recorded elsewhere as Pigennot).

From Pegennot, the star Tagalielieli will lead to the reef
Autaxileor, thence to the reef Autailemetau, and thence to
Bwennap. From Pegennot, Tagatumura will lead to Puluwat.

From Bwennap, Tubwulipu will lead to Puluwat.

M. From Yap:

Tagaliwileugo - Gaverot, island; 'steamer and canoe come close, go down in water.' (The name is virtually the same as Gaferut, which is about north-northeast (?) from Ifaluk, but about east by south from Yap.

Tagalimegarigari - Ulithi.

Tagalielieli - Sorol.

Tagal'Ipu - Tongelap (reef).

Wolwolliiauru - Ngolu (Ngulu).

Tubwul'Ipu - Gologol (reef).

Tubwulitumura - Palau.

Tubwulisarabwol - Olat (long reef).

Tubwulimailap - Philippines.

Tubwulimel - 1 shark, ugelingaj.

Tubwuwileugo - 1 fish, som, whose dorsal fin slants toward the head instead of toward the tail; also seaweed, lem.

Wolwol lilevang - 1 whale, walimII, with many white birds perching on it.

N. From Truk:

Tagaliwileugo - 1 big man o' war bird, arlgemoa.

Tagalimel - Pish (inhabited island).

Tagal'ulu - Tennomar (sandy island, with low trees and manyfish).

Tagalimailap - Falepei (Ponape).

Tagalipauiauru - Losap.

Tagalielieli - Leme.

Tagatumura - Gotu.

Tagalimetarua - Satawal-airek (called Satawan on our charts; the suffix distinguishes it from Satawal-aito farther west, near Lamotrek, which is called Satawal on our charts.

TagalIpu - Namoluk ('Mortlock', Tom explained).

Wólwólliievang - Pelap ('much surf')

Metremeital - 1 whale, called uauemaiauru.

Tubwul'Ipu - Pijemware.

Tubwulimetarua - 1 fish, lagvIt.

Tubwulitumura - 1 big shark, Oleleimwal, will crush a canoe.

Tubwulielieli - Souk. (Pulusuk?).

Tubwulimailap - Puluwat.

Tubwul'ulu - Tamtam.

Tubwulimel - Bwennap

Tubwuliwileugo - Oloulo ('atoll, white men live there').

Tubwulimailap elivang - Faiau-aiat (East Fayu?).

Wolwol li Ievang - Namoin (Nomwin?).

O. From Guam:

Tagaliwileugo - Pagang (Pagan?).

Tagalimel - Songorol ('no more people').

Tagal'ulu - Tipipi.

Tagalipauievang - Tipapa.

Tagalielieli - Saipan.*

Tagalisarabwol - Nuta (Rota?).*

Tagatumura - Trilial (Tinian?).*

Tagal'Ipu - Lamotrek.

Metremeiat - Elato.

Wolwol liiauru - Faiau.

Tubwul'Ipu - Faraulep, Ifaluk

Tubwutumura - Woleai

Tubwulielieli - Yap.

Tubwulimailap - Philippines.

Tubwuwileugo - 1 white man o' war bird, called Valemerizu.

Tubwulimailapelivang - Europe.

^{*} These were given by points of the compass instead of stars. It seems likely that Tom said 'south' in these cases when he meant 'north'.

APPENDIX IV - List of Supernatural Beings

The following list is far from exhaustive. One whole category, that of ancestral spirits associated with homesteads, is not represented. A number of mythological characters are not included because no continuing relationships with mankind are attributed to them. However, the list includes most of the prominent gods and a few others.

Major Gods

Aluelap - Forefather of the major gods. Human in form, but of immense size.

Lives usually in his house Fatremal, in the southern sky (Sarfert-Damm say in the zenith). Has another house, Langilimware, in the northern sky. A third house of his, Mwauliare, is mentioned in a dance-song said to have come from Eaurupik. On Ifaluk, the homestead Weluara on Falalap is said to be his (though also used as a human dwelling); and one of the four rods in the shrine at one end of the house is the place where offerings are left for him.

Aluelap established the tabus, except those governing sexual conduct (see Autran, below).

Lamagei - Wife of Aluelap.

Saulal - Lord of the underworld. According to the creation myth recorded by the Germans on Lamotrek, a son of lat and lol, hence a brother of Aluelap. According to Sarfert-Damm on Ifaluk, has no parents or other relatives, but was the creator of the universe. His body, according to the same source, is half man, half lawud (some sea creature; Tom's attempt at explanation suggested a surgeonfish). Inhabits a large house in the underworld called Falisat. All that was told me on Ifaluk is that he rules the underworld and the supernatural beings that live there.

Autran - A goddess; according to Sarfert-Damm, sister of Aluelap, according to the geneology given by Tom, a daughter of Aluelap. (The Sarfert-Damm version may well be more authentic, as the chiefs of 1947 seemed to know little about her.) Sarfert's informants of 1909 said that she was the ruler of earth and, though never married, the mother of all mankind. According to the same source, her house, named Lamolu, is in Garpar (Gatschapar) in Yap; and the chiefs of Garpar, in collecting tribute on Yap, are acting as her agents.

Autran established the tabu against sexual relations within the clan. Lugweilang - Son of Aluelap and Lamagei.

Lugweilang descended to earth and married a mortal woman. She bore him first a mortal son, Gio; then the god, Wolfat. He still descends to earth from time to time, Sarfert was told, to supervise men and their activities. If they are idle, he reports to Aluelap, who sends wind and rain, and to Saulal, who stirs up the sea into great waves. Typhoons, therefore, are punishment for men's laziness; and their severity is in

proportion to the misbehavior.

Lugweilang is credited by Sarfert-Damm with teaching mankind the art of tattooing. In 1947, this art was ascribed to Wolfat.

(Lamanu or Ilaamalul - Human wife of Lugweilang, does not properly belong in the list of gods. What was told of her and her mortal son, Gio, appears

under Aluelap, Lugweilang, and Wolfat.)

Wolfat - Second son of Lugweilang and his human wife, Lamanu. According to Sarfert-Damm, he was born on earth while his father, summoned by Aluelap to help repair the house Fatremal, was revisiting the sky. To judge by the number of tales told of him, Wolfat is the most prominent figure in the mythology of Ifaluk. Sarfert collected several of these tales, and in 1947 Sprio collected similar versions of these and some others, forming a little cycle of ten apparently distinct tales. Wolfat also figures in the favorite myth of Galét, of which three versions were collected, and in the story told in 1947 of the origin of tattooing,

Lugweilang and Lamanu feared that if Wolfat knew he had a human elder brother, he would kill him. So they concealed Gio in the underseas world of Saulal. One of the stories tells how Wolfat learned of his brother's existence, waylaid him and killed him. One of the motifs that recurs in the tales is that Wolfat himself cannot be killed, even with a gun.

In several tales Wolfat's role is that of a trickster, He delights in taking on all sorts of fantastic forms, in order to deceive those sent to look for him. In other tales, which verge on fables because a moral is implied in them, Wolfat takes the form of a small boy and asks groups of boys whom he meets to share their playthings with him. All but one refuse. He punishes all but the single generous one. This incident forms a theme with variations, the variations consisting mainly in different playthings and different punishments. The moral suggested is 'Be kind and generous to strangers'; but it is not explicitly stated.

In a tale told in 1947, Wolfat is credited with inventing tattooing, and

teaching the art to mortals.

Wolfat remains a rather remote mythological figure, in spite of the comparatively rich lore clustered about him. He is not credited with any continuing relationship with mankind; nor is he invoked in any of the religious dance songs or incantations.

TIlltr -This son of Lugweilang and brother of Wolfat might be called the patron deity of Ifaluk. It is he who is sent down to the atoll by Aluelap to drive off evil spirits, give instructions about curing disease, find and bring to port canoes blown off their courses, and teach mankind the songs by which he and his heavenly relatives can be properly invoked. This he does either by answering the questions addressed to him by favored human beings, or by taking possession of them and speaking or singing with their voices.

TIlItr's house, Ngiligejáp, is in the part of the sky called Lengilialo or Langiliol. He and his son and sister listed below, are not mentioned

in any of the religious dance songs, except the one used in invoking him. Some healing incantations collected by Spiro from Arogeligar, Tilitr's oracle during our stay on the atoll, also called on him by name.

The scarcity of lore about this god suggests that he may have been invented--or, as a believer might say, born--in comparatively recent times. Arogeligar, with the confirmation of others present when I interviewed him, said that the first parts of the invocation were known before his time, though TIIItr first sang the last parts through his mouth. The god is named in the third line of the invocation, which (in my rewording of Tom's translation) begins:

Night - it is night now.

Tomorrow, when daylight dawns,

The god TIIItr will speak to us all.

Recent though this god may be, then, Arogeligar seems at least not the first to be possessed by him. An old man, Orgalebwa, who lived in the homestead Weluara, known as the house of the great gods, was possessed by a god at the time we witnessed the ceremony which includes this invocation. I understood at the time that the god was Aluelap, but this is contrary to the account later given of Aluelap's remaining in the sky and sending other gods to earth. So Orgalebwa may have been possessed by TIIItr as Aluelap's representative.

TIlItal or TIlItal - Son of TIlItr, mentioned in the invocation as descending to earth with his father and helping to supervise and protect the people.

<u>Leurulalo</u> - Sister of TIIItr, mentioned in the invocation as interceding for the people.

Gods of Navigation

Aluluei - Master of the lore of seamanship. His role in bringing it to Ifaluk is recounted in the myths given in the chapter on Navigation. Said to have lived on Bwennap which, in spite of the underground extension attributed to it, seems to be identifiable with the earthly island Pulap. Other homes of his are (Sarfert-Damm) Piemal, far south of Ifaluk; and Pie li Eluluei or Sand of Aluluei.

Paluelap - According to Sarfert-Damm, a son of Aluelap and father of Aluluei.

According to Tom's genealogy of the gods of navigation, one of the sons of Aluluei. Figures in the myths of seamanship and is invoked in a ritual to be described later. The name means "great navigator."

Farewai - Divine weather forecaster. His genealogical position uncertain; there may be two gods of this name. The genealogy given by Tom makes him a brother of Aluluei, as does that of Sarfert-Damm. The same name appears also in Tom's genealogy as a son of Aluluei. This is another Farewai. Tom explained.

Metseleilag - Named in Tom's genealogy, without further details, as brother of Aluluei.

Teraolemetau - Another brother of Aluluei.

Valur - Who changed his name to Sagol - god of the fish who guide navigators. One of the sons of Aluluei. One of the myths about the lore of seamanship tells how he changed his name, after foiling the attempt of his brother Werieng to kill him.

Wërieng - God of the sea-birds who guide navigators. Another son of Aluluei. Tried to kill his brother Valur, who had been carrying on an adulterous

affair with Werieng's wife.

Segur - Another son of Aluluei. Associated with the other gods of navigation, but without any exclusive powers, so far as known.

Longolap and LongorIk - Sons of Aluluei. In the myth of the lore of seamanship, Longorlk, the younger son, learned the lore thoroughly, but the uxorious Longolap, distracted by his wife, only learned a little bit, with disastrous results.

Ilekerep - God of the sea-lanes. Invoked in a navigator's prayer for guidance.

Sauta - Invoked in a navigator's prayer for enlightenment.

Iolau - Classed with the gods of navigation; but the only specific activity recorded of him is that he makes people sick if they eat wot taro without mashing it, or eat any of his six kinds of fish without first singing the proper song over them, to win his approval.

Loulemwau - God of the canoe. Invoked in a navigator's prayer or incantation

to lighten the vessel so that it will stay afloat.

Seimeligarara - A god of canoe-building. His building of the first popo canoe told in the myth of Galet.

SemerIk - A god of canoe-building. Not placed genealogically. Invoked in a

shipwright's prayer.

Seilangi - Another god of shipbuilding, coupled with Semerlk in the shipwright's prayer. According to Sarfert-Damm, a brother of Aluluei. Not named in Tom's genealogy.

Seliwang and Tibweau - (Former possibly a variant form of Seilangi.) These two are invoked in a song, to help repair a canoe-hull which has come

apart at sea, by fitting a rope sling about it.

Alulumar - God of house-carpenters. Here grouped with the gods of navigation because mentioned by Sarfert-Damm as one of the sons of Paluelap.

Not named in the genealogy given by Tom.

Lauliar - In ordinary speech, this is the name for rainbow. On Ifaluk rainbows are thought to bring bad weather. Sarfert-Damm give this as the name of an anthropomorphic spirit who brings storms and destroys canoes at sea unless propitiated by the proper prayer or incantation. Even this will not avail if the people, by their misconduct, have offended Aluelap.

This divinity is of a kind rather rare on Ifaluk, being apparently a personification of a natural phenomenon. The only others recorded are Mesilipik, discussed below, and the two stars who suggested names for

the son of Aluelap.

Sarfert-Damm related that Lauliar came ashore on a driftwood log while a woman named Illegieri was bathing her little boy, Illepanigi. Lauliar seized the child and held it until the woman consented to be his wife. When the boy grew up, Lauliar taught him the invocation by which he can be propitiated, then returned to the sky. A different version, with a shift of names, follows.

Ilepanigi - According to a more detailed story told to Spiro, this is the name of the rainbow spirit who came ashore on a driftwood log, seized a boy (in this version named Siro or hog) and married his mother (in this version named Meri).

Alulevalu or Alus falu (literally, god of the land or island) - Chief of the spirits who live ashore, in the trees, and inflict disease on those who disobey the chiefs or shirk communal labor.

Gol - A spirit who causes death.

Sauteti and Saurek - Named in the invocation to TIIItr as evil spirits, whose arrival on Ifaluk is occasion for summoning TIIItr to drive them off.

The harm they do is apparently the usual one of bringing sickness.

Saiol - A sea-spirit who inflicts sea-sickness. Among the healing incantations given by Arogeligar to Spiro is one for exorcising him.

Alumaseragu - Mentioned in a song as making love to a mortal woman; in comment on the song, characterized as an evil spirit.

Rangwau (literally, snatch-quick) - Waylays ghosts on their way to the sky, throws them into the lake Rourou to drown.

Alusiwautas - It is not certain whether this is the name of a specific evil spirit, or a generic term for a class of them. 'Comes on top' of people, --that is, takes possession of them. Insanity is explained as possession by such a spirit.

Some Lesser Supernaturals

Totolu - A sky god who puts medicine, made by men, into coconuts, for the use of pregnant women.

Malemelel - Invoked in a prayer or incantation to cure sickness of the head.

Legawo (same as Legobwu?) One of the little shrines beside houses, on

Falalap, was said to be for this goddess. The similar name Legobwu occurs in a song, and was explained as that of a god who formerly brought to favored people whatever they desired. In discussing this song, Tom said that this god is no longer active.*

Mesilipik - This being, who according to Arogeligar is not regarded as an alus, seems to be a personification of cold. He lives in the seas between the islands, and comes on the wind, bringing certain diseases: chills, fever, red spots on the body, blood in the feces.

^{*} In the chiefs' account to Spiro, this goddess created the other gods.

Some Foreign Supernaturals Known on Ifaluk

<u>Uapei</u> - The rainbow spirit of Faraulep, invoked in the <u>sur perou</u> dance performed in Ifaluk by the men of Falarlk district, but said to have originated on Faraulep. Uapei comes on the rainbow to rescue mariners lost at sea. The people of Ifaluk seem not to take this divinity seriously.

Metileru - A sea-demon of Faraulep. According to the FalarIk sur perou dance song, he comes from afar when the wind is in the east, snatches the souls of sick people from their bodies and carries them off in his canoe of flame.

Tagi - Invoked in the FalarIk (originally Faraulep) sur perou to heal the sick by rescuing their souls from the canoe of Metileru.

Mwarisepa or Morisepa - Said to be the ghost of a boy who died at sea; presumably a boy of Ulithi, for he is invoked in a series of songs attributed to that island. The songs are called by the same name, gapengpeng, as those used to invoke Tilitr on Ifaluk; if there is an accompanying dance, it is not performed on Ifaluk so far as known. This spirit helps mariners lost at sea; but people of Ifaluk seem to have no active faith in him.

Ligeworlealeal - Apparently a god of Ulithi, mentioned in a song attributed to that atoll.

Urumwaretr - A god of Woleai, mentioned in a song said to have originated there.

<u>Hamware</u> - A goddess of Eaurupik, mentioned in the <u>laura</u> stick dance, attributed to that island.

Rangunengi - Woleai god, son of Ilamware.

Rangule - Woleai god, son of Ilamware.

Malesaro - Another god mentioned in the laura.

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